APRIL 16, 1946

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NEW MASSES

Who are the war-makers today?

What do the Soviets want?

Who's expanding?

Can World War III be prevented?

HANS BERGER

ALTER BRODY

FREDERICK V. FIELD

VIRGINIA GARDNER

CHARLES HUMBOLDT

ALBERT E. KAHN

JOHN STUART

WIN THE PEACE

A SPECIAL ISSUE

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

A MEETING that we believe will turn out to be a landmark in the growth of left-wing culture is next Thursday's symposium, jointly sponsored by NM and the *Daily Worker*, on "Art as a Weapon." It looks as though everybody will be there; the tickets are going like nylons. Screenwriter Dalton Trumbo is coming from Hollywood to speak at the meeting; Howard Fast and Arnaud D'Usseau will take part; and no one will want to miss hearing William Z. Foster on this all-important topic.

It's Thursday, April 18, 8 PM, at Manhattan Center. (See page 30 for details.) If you haven't got tickets yet, you'd better step on it.

WE WANT your ideas about NM. We know you have plenty—and we want to hear them. Some things you like, some you don't. You want lots of improvements, we know. If you don't, you ain't natural, because none of us are fully satisfied with our magazine, and we hope we—and you—never will be. NM is the sort of magazine that must always be in the throes of change and growth. In the last few months we've been doing a lot of thinking, talking, planning, as you know, and next week you will see the first issue of the "new" NM. We hope it will mark a real advance, but we know it will leave lots of room for more improvement.

You'll have to help us go on from there. That's why we've called a conference for this Saturday, April 13, at the Paramount Restaurant in New York. You probably read about it in the last couple of issues, and we hope your organization will be represented by delegates. But if this is the first you've heard, you may still have time: we want to know what we should be doing to help you and your organization, culturally and politically. You'll find more details on page 29.

And from where we sit, it looks as though the conference is going to get down to cases. Our last-minute memo reads that Ferdinand Smith and a delegation of NMU seamen, among o[thers] will be there; and that the national [office] of the United Office and Profes[sional] Workers is sending ten delegates, in [addi]tion to others from the locals. [The] Teachers Union will be out in [force]. There has been considerable interest s[hown] among editors of labor papers: we [are] welcome Irving Baldinger of *The [Voice]* (Local 65, United Wholesale, Retail [and] Warehouse Workers' Union); Sender [Gel]lin of *The Food Worker* (Local 6, [Hotel] and Restaurant Workers—AFL); Ge[orge] Kleinman of *The Fur and Leather W[orker]*; Helen Kingery of the UOPWA *[Office] and Professional News*; Lo[uis] Chamberlain of the NMU *Pilot*, Lawrence Kemmet of the *ACA News*. And Leo Shull of *Daily Theater* and *Actor's Cues*.

So come along, and don't forget your soapbox.

IT WOULDN'T be true to say we were shocked to read that Edward K. Barsky, national chairman of the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee, has been cited for contempt of Congress at the instance of the Wood-Rankin Committee, and that the Un-American Committee is also pressing contempt charges against Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary, and sixteen executive board members of the JAFRC. The action was only to be expected of such a body of inquisitors, whose very existence in post-World War II America shocks us to our marrow. You might say our feeling was more one of contempt, though it would be hard to sum up our attitude toward the solon from Mississippi in one such measly word. The JAFRC has saved thousands of lives of those "premature anti-fascists" who fought for Republican Spain: this, of course, makes it "un-American" in the lexicon of the Neanderthal Senator and his committee—and its counsel, Ernie Adamson, to whom "democracy" is a dirty word. We can imagine what would happen to relatives in Spain of the Republicans the JAFRC has helped if Rankin, Wood, Adamson & friends got their hands on their names. We congratulate the JAFRC for refusing to supply the list—and we hope there will be bales of mail arriving in the appropriate offices supporting them and telling their persecutors where to get off. Next week NM publishes the first of a series of articles on the Rankin committee by Virginia Gardner that will strip that committee right down to its bones, viscera and brains, if any. Watch for it.

B. M.

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From Teheran to Fulton Hans Berger . . . .
Let's Look at the Map Alter Brody . . . .
The Aim of Soviet Policy John Stuart . . . 1
Keystone of World Security The Editors . . 1
Gropper's Cartoon 1
Conspiracy: Then and Now Albert E. Kahn . . 1
Silent Troopship Charles Humboldt 1
Action for Peace Frederick V. Field 2
The People Fight for Peace Virginia Gardner . 2
Slumber Song in an Old Manner: a poem J. W. Carroll 2
Current Theater Isidore Schneider, T. C. Foxx, Gilbert Lawrence 2
"The Airborne" Wallingford Riegger 2
Book Reviews: Talk About Russia With Masha Scott, by Pearl S. Buck: Ephim G. Fogel; Southern California Country, by Carey McWilliams: Howard Fast; Field Work in College Education, by Helen Merrell Lynd: Herbert Aptheker . . 2

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NEW MASSES

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FROM TEHERAN TO FULTON

By HANS BERGER

In the fate of the Germans is reflected the potential fate of all capitalist and imperialist aggressors against the Soviet Union. After World War I, the Germans had the great historic opportunity of living in peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. Led by their imperialist rulers, Germany chose war. The consequences for Germany and for the whole world are known. German imperialists considered themselves, and were considered, the spearheads of world imperialism. Because of this for a certain period of time they gained many advantages—Munich, for example. But in the last reckoning they did not strengthen the power of world imperialism. A glance over Europe, Asia and the whole world proves this historic miscalculation. Just as happened after World War I, the close of World War II has brought about a very important change in the relation of forces between imperialism and world progress in favor of the latter.

IF ATOM WAR STARTED

In one of his columns Walter Lippmann recently discussed the chances of an atom war, started by the USA, against the Soviet Union. This discussion was apparently an indirect answer to behind-the-scenes discussions in influential military, political and economic circles. After assuming that the Russians would not have the atom bomb, Lippmann tried to calculate how the Russians would answer such an attack. He came to the conclusion that the Russians would overrun the whole of Europe, and although the Americans could atomize Russian cities and factories, they could not, of course, destroy "their friends" in Europe. Therefore, he argued, the atom bomb alone could not defeat the USSR—which is correct.

There are, of course, several questionable assumptions which Lippmann makes. One of them is the assumption that the Russians do not have or will not have the atom bomb, as well as other weapons with which to answer effectively atom bomb attacks. It seems probable that the atom bomb attackers would be surprised to the same degree Hitler was by the armed power of the Soviet Union and her tremendous reserves. Another wrong assumption is that the American atom bomb attackers could not destroy "*their* friends." Even in the war of liberation American and British air power annihilated many who were friends and allies. In an atom bomb attack by the United States not only would her European friends be destroyed but also those whom the Anglo-Saxon aggressors do not consider to be their friends. In Asia, Africa and Europe, and last but not least, also in the Western Hemisphere, millions of people would fight against the Anglo-Saxon imperialists and use this war for liberation from their masters. Without "overrunning continents," as Lippmann assumes, the USSR would find in millions of oppressed people active fighting allies led by men who have experienced and have been hardened in the war against the Axis invaders.

Only idiots can have the illusion that all that would be required is to push a few buttons to let an air fleet with atom bombs race towards Russia and finish her off in no time. Only adventurous morons can overlook the fact that Anglo-Saxon aggression would mean the bloodiest war in history. In such a war the American and British imperialists would learn on hundreds of battlefields all over the world, and even in the most unexpected places, what anti-imperialist democracy really is. Those who step into the shoes of German and Japanese soldiers would suffer their fate.

Walter Lippmann only answered "theoretical" or "academic" questions and problems, as I did in the preceding paragraph. But the danger of war, not in a very remote future, but at any time, is a very acute question. People never know far in advance when their imperialists will lead them into war, and the weapon of surprise, of organized panic, is always one of the most important means in the arsenal of the imperialists. And this danger of surprise has increased as a result of the development of the atom bomb. More than ever is it true what Lenin wrote in his "Notes on the Question of the Task of our Delegation at The Hague": "Present conflicts, even the most insignificant, must be taken as an example in explaining that war might break out any day. . . ."

The last few weeks have proved the power of the imperialist warmongers to throw the world into panic, to create an atmosphere of approaching war, and to put into the heads of millions the idea that such a war is inevitable and necessary. The mad days between the beginning of the Canadian "spy scare" and Secretary Byrnes' diplomatic offensive against the USSR in the Security Council can, indeed, be called a rehearsal for a future war provocation. Churchill's Fulton speech, repeated at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York; the drumming up by the press and radio of alleged Red Army troop movements toward Teheran and the borders of Turkey and Iraq; the propaganda about the alleged intentions of the Red Army to stay in Manchuria; rumors about an impending attack of Marshall Tito against Trieste; the endless "get-tough-with-Russia" talk—all this, coupled with dark prophecies about the breaking up of the UNO by the USSR, has driven many people into panic, confused them with lies and half truths, and spread the fear of an immediate war over the whole world.

ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN

And all those mad days came to pass under a president and an administration that parade as the true successors of the late President Roosevelt. And all this happened under a president who cannot take a step without hypocritically quoting the Bible and making empty gestures about democracy, peace and liberty. The truth is that these days came to pass under the guidance and with the direct or indirect inspiration of the Truman administration.

This administration knew in advance

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what kind of spy story the Canadian government was cooking up. President Truman and his Secretary of State, Byrnes, knew of course—as Bevin knew—that Churchill did not come to the United States to paint pictures, but to paint the Soviet Union black and to use American territory for his conspiratorial work in creating an Anglo-Saxon imperialist international. The President and Byrnes—as did Bevin—knew what Churchill would say in his Missouri speech, and despite this, or rather because of it, the President gave him the political advantage of his own presence. This administration, having decided to get tough with Russia, helped to prepare the moral (or rather immoral) atmosphere in order to justify its toughness, to become popular because of its toughness, to create a broad mass base for its toughness, and before all to justify its break with the policy of the late President Roosevelt.

While Mr. Roosevelt carried on his foreign policy during the war in permanent battle with the Vandenbergs, Deweys, Hoovers and Hearsts, the Truman administration is carrying on its foreign policy more and more in battle with the forces of peace and progress, and with the applause of those who were often beaten—although unfortunately never decisively—under the leadership of Roosevelt. Indeed, after a few zigzags, the foreign policy of Vandenberg has become the policy of the Truman administration.

The Truman administration has gone over to the side of those who criticized Teheran and Yalta as an unworthy capitulation by the USA to the Soviet Union and as a violation of "democratic" ideals. But it is simply not true that Roosevelt capitulated before the Soviet Union. The concessions and compromises were mutual and they were expressions of the fact that the late President, in the fire of war, recognized that the existence of the Soviet Union meant saving the United States from the terrible dangers of a combined German and Japanese attack, and that the Soviet Union was a world power whose vital interests had to be recognized in order to achieve a long peace by cooperation after the war.

Such a policy did not exclude differences and even great differences. But it did exclude many attempts to gang up with British imperialism and other powers against the Soviet Union in order to force history to march backward. It is useless to speculate how far Mr. Roosevelt would have been able to carry on this policy in the postwar period had he been alive. It was and remains a great conception of the possibility of the peaceful cooperation between the big powers, and between the peoples.

THE GREAT LIE

THE opponents of this Roosevelt foreign policy saw in it a policy of "surrender" because they do not want to recognize in the USSR the world power which it is. The more they saw that the Soviet Union would come out of this war not as a little flower to be picked by anyone, but as a tremendously strong state with a powerful attraction for all the oppressed and exploited, the wilder and more open they became in the accusation of "surrender."

These imperialist forces called lamentable "concessions" and "surrender" to the Soviet Union the return to their motherland of the Baltic States, Bessarabia, the territories up to the Curzon line which were liberated with the blood of the Red Army. They call it "concession and surrender" when the Soviet Union takes back that part of Sakhalin once stolen from it by the Japanese; the Kuriles; and when the USSR makes agreements with the Chinese about free ports in Port Arthur and Dairen necessary for its security. They call it surrender when the Soviet Union makes an agreement with the Chinese about the common administration of the Changchun Railway, an agreement that will benefit China through the economic development of Manchuria.

In all these matters the United States has surrendered nothing. The US has given nothing to the Russians because not an inch of these territories ever belonged to the US and not one drop of American blood was shed for the liberation of these territories. Of course, for those who believe that the whole world belongs to the US, that there is no equality of nations, that the US is the umpire of the whole world, even the return of liberated territories to their motherland will be called "tremendous concessions" and a distasteful surrender of American "ideals." As a matter of fact, these forces see in the existence of the USSR a regrettable concession which was made by the United States.

Nor has the foreign policy of the Truman administration made concessions to the Soviet Union by recognizing—with many misgivings and with many attempts at reactionary diplomatic intervention—the new Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and so forth. These countries, liberated by the Red Army, are creating their new democratic life and will not tolerate foreign intervention by any country. These were not concessions by the United States, but simply a belated recognition of the facts of life. Of course, those who see any territory in the world as divinely theirs to be constructed in the image of American finance capital, and who believe that the monopolies and feudal landlords have to be kept, whether the peoples like it or not, are shouting themselves hoarse about the tremendous concessions of the US to the Soviet Union. American capitalism has already given one example of "democratic" reconstruction in the American South and it is developing a policy with similar consequences in Germany and Japan.

The facts about World War II are that the Soviet Union and the peoples of Europe as well as of Asia have spilled a hundred times more blood than we and have suffered beyond our imagination. If one wants to speak at all of concessions, they have made more to the US than the other way around. The hard facts since the ending of the war and since the abrupt ending of Lend-Lease without a proper substitute—one of the great indecencies of the Truman government towards America's allies—is that the peoples of the world, despite their far greater sacrifices in the common battle, have been left to starve by the government of the US. With the exception of pious phrases Washington is doing very little to help the allies in their most bitter hour of need. An editorial in the New York *Post* on March 29 was absolutely correct when it stated: "Of all the nations of the world ours has made the smallest proportional response to the food crisis, brought on by a common war and by drought."

TRUMAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

THE hard fact no less is that the Truman administration did not lift a finger against the ruthless "small wars" of British imperialism against colonial people, but sided rather with British imperialism. Neither the Indians, Indonesians, Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese nor the people of Palestine have been given a serious word of encouragement, not to speak of practical aid, by the State Department. On the contrary, the American delegation at the London session of the UNO supported the maneuvers of the British and Dutch imperialists and was a partner in sidetracking the needs and interests of the colonial masses.

The Truman administration did nothing to help the Greek people, ter-

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rorized by their British-protected fascists, and helped the election fraud by sending observers. The Truman administration intervened militarily in China, encouraging civil conflict until it was finally forced to make a tactical change and sent General Marshall to Chungking. American imperialists favored an armistice in China in order to change quietly through military and financial aid the relation between the forces of democracy and reaction. American imperialism remains the enemy of a progressive, independent China.

many months the acknowledgement of an application for a loan by the Soviet Union, whose tremendous sacrifices helped to preserve the US.

But above all, it is the Truman administration that has started the historic crime of atom bomb diplomacy, the perpetual attempt to blackmail the world and especially the Soviet Union with this most terrible weapon.

Indeed, there is no greater hypocricy than to picture American imperialism as giving to everybody and getting nothing in return. It is essentially the same

due to the demand of the men that they be let out, and of their families and loved ones that they come home, rather than to any desire on the part of the Army, Navy or Air Forces. It has been recommended to the Congress that we have an army of over a million; a navy of 500,000; that we have over a thousand ships in the active reserve subject to immediate manning—the largest navy in the world beyond all question and essentially the equal of all other navies afloat.

"It has been recommended that we

The undeniable fact remains that nearly 2,000,000 American soldiers are stationed in fifty-six foreign countries and so-called strategic islands. The US has almost a monopoly over the occupation of Japan under MacArthur—a Japan which is at least of the same importance for the security of the Soviet Union as for the United States. It was the Truman policy that brought fascist Argentina into the UNO. It is the Truman administration that together with Great Britain keeps fascist Franco Spain going by refusing to sever diplomatic and economic relations. It was the Truman administration that ignored for

hypocrisy displayed in thousands of advertisements by the big monopolies against their workers.

Senator Pepper in his recent address in defense of the preservation of peace and good relations with the Soviet Union made a truly patriotic speech because he tried cooly to analyze the international scene without hiding anything of the powerful and advantageous position of the US and Great Britain in the world. He proved that there are sane and responsible leaders in America when he said:

"Take ourselves first. The extent of demobilization we have had is primarily

have an air force of 500,000 men and the greatest and most modern air fleets, with the entire world in their range. It has been recommended to the Congress that we extend selective service and that we adopt peacetime compulsory military training in America. We are told that so many of our war plants will be standby plants, ready for instant use in the making of war material, and that we shall stockpile from the ends of the earth strategic and critical materials. Demand has been imperatively made that we gird ourselves with scores of major bases, stretching in the west to the coast of China, 6,000 miles from San Fran-

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cisco, reaching practically from the Arctic to the Antarctic and including the mandated islands in the Mariannas and the Carolinas held by the Japanese under the League of Nations. And the same demand has been made for a system of bases that stretch the length of the Hemisphere in the Atlantic. And over and above all this, we have the atomic bomb and by report we are stockpiling atomic bombs as fast as our facilities will allow, notwithstanding the growing resignations and resistance of the scientists who made the bomb possible.

AMERICAN imperialism, together with British, has become the spearhead for mobilizing everything in the whole world that is backward, reactionary and hostile toward the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of the US has become the biggest factor disturbing the peace. And despite these facts, some people shut their eyes before the disastrous consequences of the present policy. They tell us about the progressive proposals of the Truman administration on domestic issues, and, on that basis, they deny the war danger. Instead of looking at the record of the Truman foreign policy and its development since the end of the war, they try to overlook this record because they do not see fascist storm troops marching through American streets and because they believe that only outright fascist governments start wars. Imperialist wars are not necessarily made only by fascists. Has not history proved that the first imperialist war and especially the war of intervention against the Soviet Union took place under the "democrat" Wilson? Have not American imperialist wars against Cuba and the Philippines and the innumerable imperialist interventions against different Latin-American countries been carried out under a democratic flag? Has not the armed intervention of British imperialism against Greece been carried out in the name of British democracy?

And the same is true in regard to the so-called concessions to the masses. The history of modern—especially Anglo-Saxon—imperialism proves that these imperialists are ready to make concessions to the masses, not only to stave off their upsurge and keep them from political independence, but to bribe certain sections of the workers in order to bind them to the imperialist bandwagon. It is not fascism that creates imperialism, but under certain historical conditions imperialism creates fascism as the most brutal force to crush the masses and to throw them into an imperialist war. And especially at a time when the character of fascism has been unmasked, when the democratic movements of the masses advance, when the ideas of socialism and national liberation have taken hold among millions, when the Soviet system has proved its superiority and its strength and attractive power, imperialists, especially those of the big western powers, with their old democratic traditions, will try to misuse and falsify these traditions for all their imperialist excursions and adventures. It is no accident that the most reactionary social imperialists of the type of Laborite Bevin have become the leaders in trying to use the power of American imperialism for holding the Empire together and for the fight against the first socialist state.

The imperialists, under the mask of democracy, are also systematically using all remnants and positions of world fascism, in Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Germany, Japan, Poland and the Balkan countries. The imperialists are also opposed to the elimination of the ideologies and prejudices that have been the most powerful and demagogic instruments of fascism: anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism. The imperialists of the western powers create thereby in their own countries as well as everywhere else the most favorable atmosphere for the development of fascist ideas, organizations and groups, for the poisoning of the minds of millions, with the intention of bringing in fascism finally if other means do not suffice.

MONOPOLISTS AT THE SWITCH

THOSE, therefore, who tell us that the present administration of the US is not fascist and that there can be much worse governments, tell us a banality. But to deny that this present administration has since its inception more and more revised the foreign policy of Roosevelt and become the spokesman of the hard-boiled American imperialists, blinds us and the world against the danger of war. Under the slogan "it could be worse," "we could have a fascist government," we are asked to accept the present foreign policy of the Truman administration as one accepts the cold autumn rains before the winter sets in.

Just as after World War I, the power of the big American monopolies has tremendously increased during and after World War II. In 1921 the financial giants controlled forty percent of the national economy and the national wealth. In 1939 it was fifty percent. Today they control no less than sixty percent. They work through 250 corporations. Their names are familiar: DuPont, Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon. They work through different banking groups in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago and the West Coast.

The Morgan empire alone controls thirty percent of the economy; the Rockefellers about fifteen percent; the DuPonts and Mellons about ten percent. Since our war economy was necessarily based in the main on these same monopolies, they seized the opportunity to strengthen their power and became the biggest war profiteers in the world.

Aided by a tremendous military machine, and tremendous increase of productivity, these monopolies are driving hard to open every door in the world, to use every country for their investments and markets, and to redivide the postwar world in such a way that the whole world becomes the theater of their dollar diplomacy. In this drive American finance capital clashes with British imperialism and its colonial interests. In the battle with British imperialists American monopoly adheres to the thesis of Byrnes: "The charter (of the UNO) does not sanctify ancient privilege, it does not attempt to outlaw change in an ever-changing world." Indeed, in the battle with the British imperialists, the American imperialists and their spokesmen are by no means defenders of the old vested interests. In regard to oil, airways, imperial tariffs, in regard to the Middle East, the Yangtse Valley or India, the American imperialists are indeed all for change. They are for the substitution of the old vested British robber interests by the new American ones.

But in regard to all the peoples and movements that have made themselves independent or are fighting for independence from any imperialist domination, be it British or American imperialism, visible or invisible, the policy of the Truman administration is to fight against any real change.

If the foreign policy of the Truman administration is not changed by the power of the American people, the United States will be driven or will blunder into the most terrible war of all times. Before the American people is the task of getting tough with the American imperialists. Otherwise we will discover, just as the Germans and Japanese are discovering today, that not to have been tough at the right time is the biggest crime against the nation.

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LET'S LOOK AT THE MAP

By ALTER BRODY

ADVOCATES of Christianity as a practical solution of our present-day problems, such as the late G. K. Chesterton, have pointed out with considerable justice that Christianity can hardly be called a failure, since it has never been tried. They have never bothered explaining *why* the ethical creed which has been dominant in the western world for two thousand years, and in the world as a whole for the past three hundred years, has never been put into practice.

But this is no time to cavil at trifles. The fact is that the world has reached an impasse which must be resolved by one means or another or we will be headed for a war which indeed may be the last. That this impasse is caused by the crisis in American-Soviet relations there is little dispute. We have tried out all sorts of policies toward Russia—from wooing her with the promise of a nice respectable position in our Anglo-American world establishment if she behaves, to threatening her with instantaneous annihilation with atomic bombs if she is recalcitrant. But despite all our endeavors, American-Soviet relations seem to get worse rather than better. Under these circumstances, having tried everything else, I say, why not try a little Christianity?

Let me hasten to say that I am not suggesting the more difficult precepts of Christianity, the "love thine enemy, return good for evil, turn the other cheek" idea, which is obviously beyond the moral capacity of ordinary mortals. What I refer to is a more commonly accepted, more human, more practical precept of Christianity—do unto others as thou wouldst have them do unto you—a precept which most Americans try to practice in their daily lives under the less Biblical heading of "fair play."

In itself, this suggestion is hardly original. Every time there is a crisis in American-Soviet relations, Senator Vandenberg or Senator Connally or Secretary Byrnes thumps on the diplomatic lectern and declares that he is tired of appeasing the Russians, that there must be a give and take in American-Soviet relations. On more than one occasion the Golden Rule was specifically invoked as a diplomatic guide—for example, in President Truman's Navy Day speech. But, as Mr. Chesterton has pointed out, the trouble with Christian precepts is that they have never been applied. This is precisely what I mean to do and in a very precise fashion. I am so convinced of the applicability of the Golden Rule to the solution of a basic source of American-Soviet friction that I have charted it on a map so that our diplomats, as well as our admirals and air generals, shall have no difficulty in steering by it.

"The Pallbearers:" woodcut in memory of President Roosevelt, by Ted Fuchs.

BASIC as a source of American-Soviet friction is the fact that they have entirely different notions of national security. The USSR clings to an old-fashioned standard of national security limited to its front porch in Eastern Europe and its backyard in Mongolia and Manchuria. In addition it depends on building the UNO and the cooperation of the Big Three. But the Truman administration's own standards are far more grandiose. For instance, America considers its present base in Iceland indispensable to its "national" security and therefore none of Russia's business. On the other hand, Washington was very much concerned over Russia's temporary occupation of another Danish Island—Bornholm—recently evacuated by them. Yet the map shows that Iceland is 3,500 miles away from our nearest border, whereas Bornholm is only 300 miles from the nearest Soviet border. Obviously this is a golden opportunity for the application of the Golden Rule. A Russian equivalent of America's Iceland base would hardly be Bornholm, a mere 300 miles from the USSR, or Spitsbergen, a mere 1,000 miles, or even Iceland itself, which is twice as near to Russia as it is to the USA. But it might well be Greenland, or perhaps Grantland, in the northernmost part of Canada, both about as far from the USSR as Iceland is from the USA. And while we are on the subject—why not invite the Russians to stage an "Operation Moscow" in Greenland and Grantland to reciprocate the joint Canadian-American-British "Operation Musk-Ox" which took place in the same area and to which, according to the N. Y. *Times* "all military attaches in Ottawa were invited," but unaccountably "the Russian

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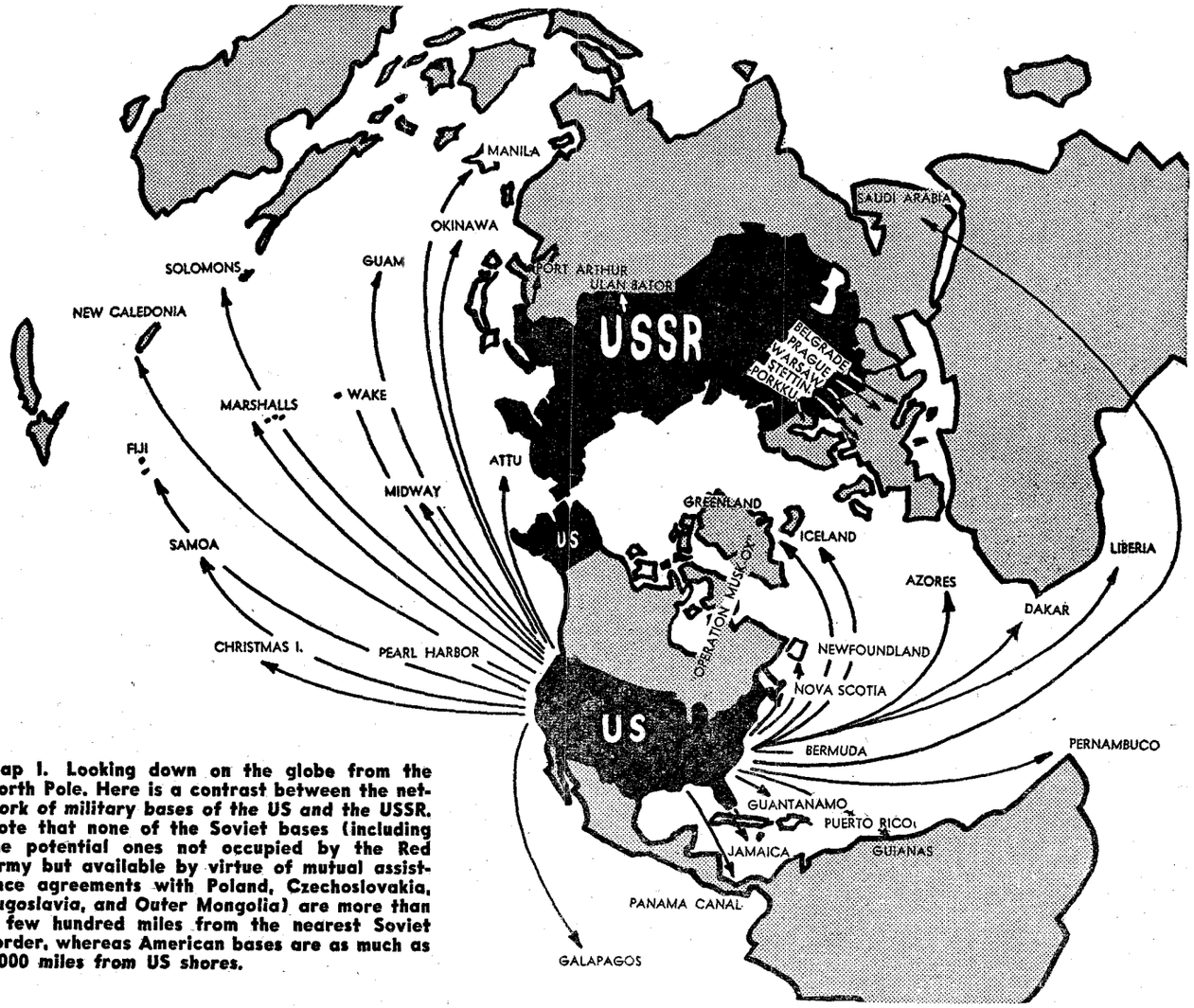

Map I. Looking down on the globe from the North Pole. Here is a contrast between the network of military bases of the US and the USSR. Note that none of the Soviet bases (including the potential ones not occupied by the Red Army but available by virtue of mutual assistance agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Outer Mongolia) are more than a few hundred miles from the nearest Soviet border, whereas American bases are as much as 8,000 miles from US shores.

observers did not accompany the party."

Or take the $6,000,000 airbase (N. Y. *Times* Nov. 9, 1945) which the US Army, using Army personnel as labor battalions, is building at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, "under an agreement drawn up by the State Department with Saudi Arabia." Now Saudi Arabia is more than 7,000 miles away from the United States, but it is less than a thousand miles away from the Soviet Union—as near, shall we say, as Venezuela is to the United States. Using the Golden Rule as a compass, we plot a 7,000 mile line from the USSR to a "Soviet air base" somewhere in Venezuela. And the beauty of it is that Venezuela, like Saudi Arabia, is rich in oil.

Recently there has been a lot of talk about Soviet "designs" on the Dardanelles, and some have timidly compared Russia's interest in the Dardanelles with our interest in the Panama Canal. Using the Golden Rule as a compass, we find that this comparison falls far short, since the Dardanelles are only a few hundred miles from Odessa, whereas the Panama Canal is 1,500 miles from New Orleans. A true Golden Rule Soviet equivalent of the Panama Canal would be the Suez Canal, which is approximately as far from Odessa as the Panama Canal is from New Orleans. On the other hand, the Kiel Canal, which is about as far from the USSR as our Nova Scotia base from Maine, is Russia's main exit and entrance to the Baltic, whereas to Britain, which now controls it, the Kiel Canal is only an entrance to the Baltic which, like the Dardanelles-locked Black Sea, is primarily a Russian zone.

To ILLUSTRATE how the Golden Rule would solve the war-fraught problem of American and Soviet security systems I have prepared two contrasting maps, above.

In one I show the present inequitable, un-Christian systems of American and Soviet bases. In the other I show what bases the Soviet Union and America would occupy if they reversed their roles according to the Golden Rule.

Certain knotty questions arose in the preparation of these maps, precipitated primarily by Churchill's Missouri speech. In tracing the network of purely American bases on the map, would it be fair to exclude the network of potential bases which America has at its disposal in the British Empire from Gibraltar and Port Said to Singapore and the Falkland Islands, not to speak of the thousand airfields which we built in Britain itself during the war? It is true that Churchill's suggestion of a military alliance between America and Britain and the sharing of bases has not been officially acted on by the two governments. But on the very page that the N. Y. *Times* carried Secretary Byrnes' rejection of Churchill's kind offer it also carried an account of the Allied Joint Staff talks that were still proceeding in Washington six months after the war had ended. (To date the issue of why the British army has not evacuated Washington "six months after the end of the war" has not been brought before the UNO.)

How, therefore, is one to distinguish between the bases which America ac-

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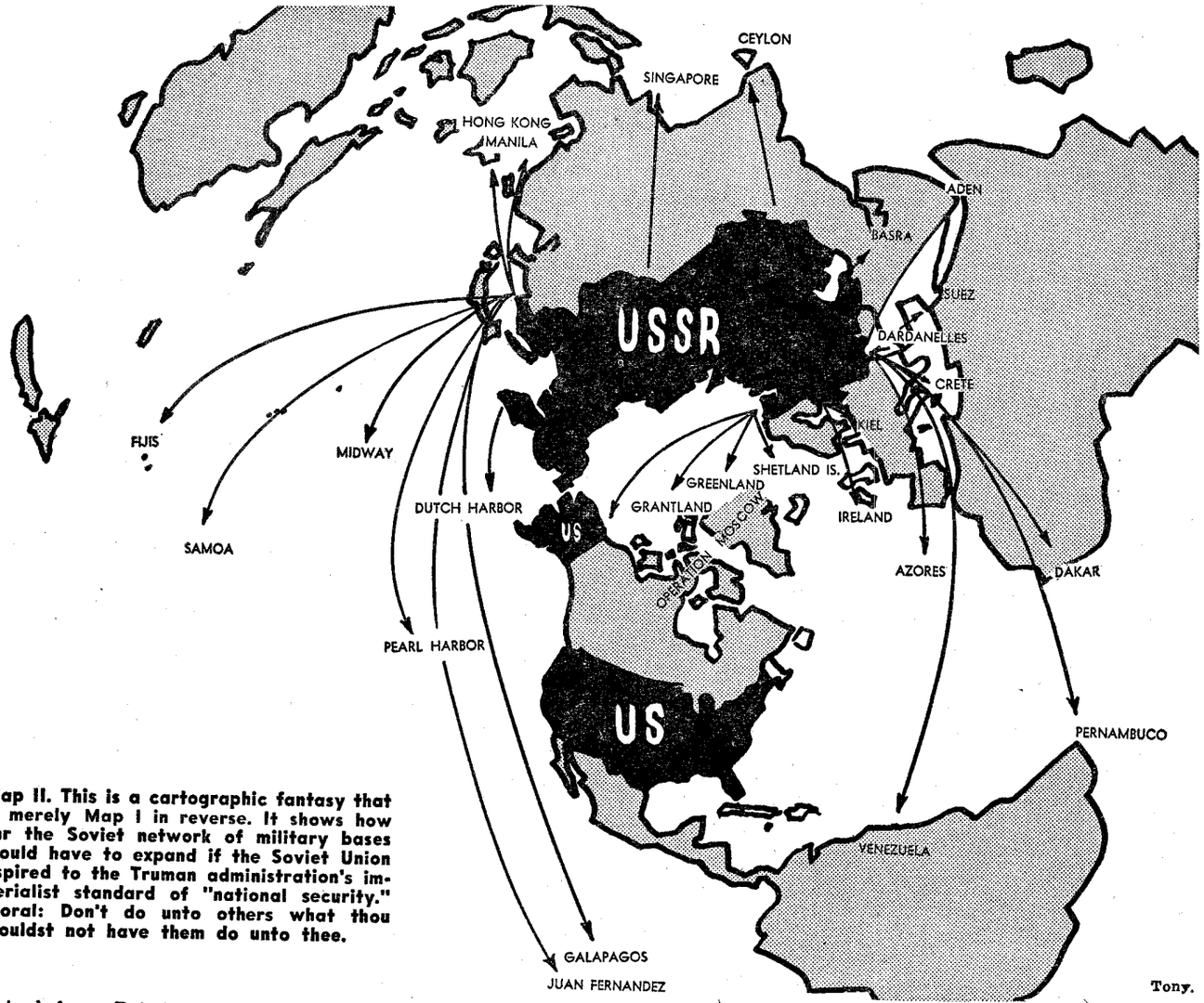

Map II. This is a cartographic fantasy that is merely Map I in reverse. It shows how far the Soviet network of military bases would have to expand if the Soviet Union aspired to the Truman administration's imperialist standard of "national security." Moral: Don't do unto others what thou wouldst not have them do unto thee.

quired from Britain through the bases-for-destroyers deal of 1940 and the potential bases at its disposal throughout the British Empire by virtue of our war alliance with Britain—which is still very much in force?

A similar difficulty arises concerning the actual potential bases at our disposal in China. Everyone knows that Russia, by the terms of the Yalta agreement and the Sino-Soviet pact, reacquired some of the rights it formerly possessed in Manchuria, including the lease of a military base at Port Arthur and a half interest in the Chinese Eastern Railroad built by the Russians as part of the main trunk line of the Trans-Siberian railroad. (The other branch of the Trans-Siberian circling Manchuria on Soviet soil was originally merely a spur.)

On the basis of the Port Arthur lease and Russia's half-interest in one of Manchuria's railways our newspapers usually shade Manchuria as a Russian "sphere of influence" on their maps of China, though it does not prevent them from accusing Russia of violating the Sino-Soviet pact by not immediately evacuating Manchuria.

But our own position in China is ambiguous, to put it lightly. We do not have a formally-ceded base in China such as the Russians have in Port Arthur, but our military, naval and air forces have the run of all of China—including Manchuria as fast as the Russians evacuate it. We maintain a sizable force across the Gulf of Chihi in northern China opposite Port Arthur. Our army is officially engaged in training and equipping the Chinese army free of charge, and Congress has just authorized our navy to present a good-sized fleet to China. In addition, our present investments in China are many times larger than Russia's half-interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway and are certain to swell to huge proportions in the near future. Perhaps our method of winning friends and influencing neighbors is more efficient than that of Russia, but it only strengthens the argument of those who maintain that China is an American sphere of influence and that its military bases should be included in a chart of the American "defense" system. However, I have decided to lean backward in accrediting bases to the US, accrediting as American only those bases which are officially recognized as such. In the case of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, I have not confined myself to official bases, which the Russians formally acquired by treaty on foreign soil, such as Port Arthur, Manchuria, and Porkku, but credited it with all the bases potentially at its disposal by virtue of its treaties with Poland, Czechoslavkia, Yugoslavia, Outer Mongolia, etc., though there are no Soviet troops in any of the three last-named countries. The reason is obvious. The disparity between the minimal American imperialist standard of "national security" and the maximal Soviet non-imperialist standard is so great that it is hardly necessary to labor the point by including the British Empire and China (recognized by all realistic students of foreign affairs as American "spheres of influence") in America's globe-girdling system of defense—and offense.

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THE AIM OF SOVIET POLICY

By JOHN STUART

If to Winston Churchill Soviet foreign policy has been a riddle wrapped in a mystery that is because he needs to contrive mysteries about the damaging truth. For almost three decades the conduct of Soviet affairs abroad has been clear. Where the mystery derives is not in the documents, or the treaties, the pronouncements or deeds of Soviet leaders but in the calculated effort to distort them. The liberal historian has seen them from his narrow middle-class angle and often as not he will attempt to equate socialist policy with his own peculiar doctrine, whatever it may be. The outcome is neither flesh, fish nor fowl. Nevertheless, enough of the realities seep through to indicate that the seeming "enigma" of Soviet policy is the product of overwrought imagination compounded with prejudice. It is, however, the political commentator in the employ of imperialism who has converted into a Machiavellian riddle the single great stabilizing force in world affairs—the one force that has ceaselessly worked for peace from the moment the Soviets took power in 1917. And he has done his maligning with good reason, for if the truth were permitted free reign, imperialism would suffer if only by comparison with what the USSR has accomplished in the international sphere. This comparison is one area in which the proponents of "free enterprise" and unlimited competition fear competition like the very devil himself. In fact, they have spent a large share of their bloated profits for the sole purpose of blotting out the truth about the USSR's internal and external policies in order to make sure that the remainder of their profits continues intact.

How this studied distortion has affected the average American mind is not hard to see. Despite the iron curtain, during the war more truth about the Soviet Union managed to get through than in all the preceding years. But there is an apparent retrogression taking place now. The old lies pushed to the rear for the sake of expediency are being shoved forward again. In one sense it is easy for this to happen because much of what Americans learned about the USSR in the war period was based on a sportsmanlike respect for a heroic ally. It was not based for the most part on a knowledge of the economic foundations of Soviet foreign policy, its historical roots or the way it evolved from Chicherin through Litvinov to Molotov.

In other words, the war years contributed considerably to the dilution of falsehood about the USSR, but not sufficiently to prevent its reconcentration under the skillful hands of the imperialists. I think it important, therefore, to outline Soviet foreign policy in terms of a few questions which have been asked repeatedly in past months. The questions themselves reveal paradoxically a mixture of hostility and friendship. The hostility comes from a failure to grasp the essence of Soviet diplomacy, and the friendship from a knowledge that without Soviet cooperation peace becomes a mirage in an atomic desert.

Do the Soviets want to bolshevize the world? This question creaks with age. It is founded on a myth spread over the years which also takes the form of a "menacing Red imperialism" eager to expand all over Europe and Asia. But in 1936, in an interview with Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, Stalin answered this fantasy, which still dominates Howard's front pages as it does those of Hearst, McCormick and Patterson. Stalin said, "we Marxists believe that revolution will occur in other countries as well. But it will come at a time when it is considered possible or necessary by the revolutionaries in those countries. Export of revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it so desires, will make its own revolution, and if no such desire exists, no revolution will occur." And in the same interview he also told Howard, "If you think that the people of the Soviet Union have any desire themselves and by force to alter the face of the surrounding states, then you are badly mistaken. The people of the Soviet Union naturally desire that the face of the surrounding states should change, but this is the business of the surrounding states themselves."

Sixteen years earlier, in 1920, the first Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, G. V. Chicherin, told the American Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, in a diplomatic note: "The Soviet government clearly understands that the revolutionary movement of the working masses in every country is their own affair. It holds to the principle that communism cannot be imposed by force, but that the fight for communism in every country must be carried on by its working masses themselves. Seeing that in America and in many other countries the workers have not conquered the powers of government, and are not even convinced of the necessity of their conquest, the Russian Soviet government deems it necessary to establish and faithfully to maintain peaceable and friendly relations with the existing governments of those countries."

Quite clearly, then, Soviet leaders insist that socialism will come only to those who want it and it will come primarily as a result of internal conditions and not because the USSR wills it. Several years ago the late Senator William E. Borah, a decidedly non-Communist potitical figure from Idaho, observed that it was not foreign propadanda that causes dissension within the United States. "We have ten million men and women unemployed, seeking something to do," he remarked. "Mass production continues to pile up goods in the sight of those whose purchasing power is daily diminishing. What has communism to do with that? It is these conditions that are disturbing our peace, not Russian propaganda."

The bogey of Soviet expansion also falls flat in view of the Soviet territory available to the Soviet people. Their own land, enormously rich in resources, occupies almost half of Europe and Asia. It is almost three times the size of the United States. But more important, *there is no individual or class to profit from imperialist expansionism.* All the economic compulsions that drive the capitalist states to aggression, territorial aggrandizement, and the conquest of markets, have been completely eliminated by the socialist system. It has no need to export capital. It does not need colonies. It has no one who profits from the manufacture of armaments. It does not need all these things because the Soviet market, unlike the capitalist home market, is insatiable. Consumption keeps pace with production—a pace determined by economic planning. As production increases along with the increase in the output of labor, prices are lowered and wages raised so that the perennial curse of capitalism in peacetime—overproduction—is unheard of in the USSR. Moreover, the almost incalculable damage wrought by the war will keep the

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Soviet people busy for many years to restore what they have lost and to advance from there.

BUT ISN'T THE USSR PUSHING SMALL NATIONS AROUND, EVEN IF IT DOES NOT WANT WAR? This again is a myth with origins in the real oppressors of small nations. In actual fact the Soviet Union itself is a federation of many nations, mostly small, and national groups. From the very beginning, under Prime Minister Stalin's guidance, Soviet policy, internal and external, has mirrored not only the character of Soviet economy, but the principle of self-determination of all peoples whether they be Soviet or non-Soviet. The Soviets gave Finland its independence—the same Finland that was later to become an Axis partner in a war against the USSR. In his book *Mission to Moscow*, Joseph E. Davies, the former American ambassador to the Soviet Union, wrote that "throughout their participation in the League of Nations, the Soviet government led the fight for the protection of little nations vigorously and boldly." Few may know it but it was Soviet help that put Turkey on its feet at the close of World War I. And when China, not a small nation physically but small in terms of productive and economic power, was being fed to the Japanese by Washington and London, it was Moscow that came to her assistance. Let Madame Chiang Kai-shek tell that story in her own words: "Eighty percent of Japan's war supplies came from America—and ninety-five percent of the aviation gasoline which was used by Japan in her ruthless bombing was American. . . ."

"Intellectual honesty," continues Madame Chiang, "constrains me to point out that throughout the first three years of resistance, Soviet Russia extended to China, for the actual purchase of war materials and other necessities, credits several times larger than the credits given by either Great Britain or America. . . . Furthermore, at the meetings of the League of Nations, it was Russia who took an uncompromising stand in support of China's appeal that active measures should be adopted to brand Japan as the aggressor. Russia acted similarly during the Brussels Conference. On both occasions Britain, France and other member nations compromised their consciences. When Japan protested through its ambassador in Moscow that the aid extended to China by Russia was a breach of neutrality, Russia did not wilt, or surrender or compromise, but continued to send supplies of arms to China. . . . I may point out that Russian help has been unconditional. . . ." (*Liberty*, Jan. 21, 1941.)

ACA Gallery

"The Partisan," sculpture by Aaron J. Goodelman.

When Secretary Byrnes lectures Gromyko on the rights of small nations, it is enough to make the dead laugh at the farce. No one knows better than Stalin what it means to come from an oppressed small nation—Georgia. Stalin, a Georgian, is himself the living example of how the Soviet policy toward small nations has worked. Under the Czars for a humble Georgian to dream of a high government position would have been insane, and Georgia itself was exploited much the way Holland exploits Indonesia or England India. In his excellent book, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*, Corliss Lamont shows how under the Soviet nationalities policy Georgian production, by way of indicating the increase in wealth of the Georgian people, rose from forty-three (in million rubles) in 1913 to 640.9 in 1935. Or take the example of Uzbekistan—one of the most backward areas in the Czarist empire. Even before the outbreak of war in 1941 and under the Soviet regime, the industrial output of Uzbekistan "exceeded the combined aggregate of the nearby countries of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, whose total population is about eight times that of Uzbekistan."

For the benefit of Mr. Byrnes, who has never uttered a word against the poll-tax "democracy" of his native South

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Carolina, the following words from Stalin are worth recalling. "It was formerly the 'accepted idea' that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilization and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, while the latter are the only vehicles of civilization, whose mission is to exploit the former. . . . One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this legend a mortal blow. . . ." (*Marxism and the National Question.*)

THE Soviet policy of self-determination is, therefore, integral with its foreign policy. At the opening session of the UNO in London it was the Soviet delegate, Andrei Vyshinsky, who defended the rights of Greece, Indonesia, Syria and Lebanon against the oppressive policies of Great Britain and her supporter, the United States. If the USSR has any design on small nations, it is the design of defending their independence by making them independent in fact through encouraging the development of their resources, the building of their labor movement, and the active participation in the life of these countries of all the democratic forces. It is these forces which will keep their governments from becoming pawns in the imperialist game of power politics. While some of the small nations have nominal independence, they have over the years been nothing but the commercial colonies of the great imperialist powers which have held them in political and economic bondage. It was these small nations close to the Soviet Union which Hitler toppled almost without exception by simply racing his panzer divisions through them. And it was these small nations whom the victor powers of World War I used in forging the anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* after their use as depots in the war of intervention failed.

For no good reason smallness has become associated with virtue and innocence—like children and kittens. Iran itself is an excellent example of the contrary. Its government, long under the sway of British imperialism, has been corrupt. It has suppressed national minorities such as the Azerbajainians. It has permitted itself to be drawn into anti-Soviet intrigue and anti-Soviet military adventures even though the USSR through a treaty in 1921 renounced all Russian rights and claims in Iran which had been enforced by Czarism.

Based on its non-imperialist policy, the Soviet interest in Iran is to prevent that country from again becoming a *place d'armes* against Soviet territory. In large respects Iran is to the Soviet Union geographically what Mexico is to the United States. The United States would not tolerate the hostile military apparatus of a foreign country in Mexico. The USSR will not tolerate such a development in Iran. As for the Iranian oil concessions, the approach of the USSR is fundamentally different from that of the United States or England. The Soviet Union's interest is based on a demand for equality of treatment—that no favoritism be shown any other states as against the USSR. And the outline announced in Teheran of the Soviet-Iranian oil agreement is a good example of the kind of non-imperialist arrangement which protects the national rights of Iran. It gives her the privilege of buying out the shares held by the Soviets if she prefers to do so after fifty years. Furthermore, unlike the Anglo-Iranian oil accord wherein the latter only receives royalties on oil extracted, under her agreement with the Soviet Union Iran receives profits in accordance with the number of shares she holds. Iran's sole investment in the project is the oil land. The Soviets will provide the technical know-how, the equipment, and will pay the wages of the oil workers. In other words, Iran will be strengthened as a result of the accord for the technical developments will not only increase Iranian wealth but help provide her with an improved economy. In spirit this agreement is similar to the Sino-Soviet agreement of August, 1945.

IF THE USSR REALLY WANTS PEACE, WHY IS IT MAINTAINING A POWERFUL ARMY? As a matter of fact, many Red Army classes have since the close of the war been demobilized and returned home. They are needed in the factories and fields and every measure has been taken to assure the veteran a place in the reconstruction of the country. Yet it is undeniably true that the Soviet government is maintaining a strong army, urging military leaders to perfect themselves in military science. But an army is an instrument of political policy; by itself an army does not make for war. No matter how large an army the USSR might maintain, it would not be an aggressive force for the fundamental reason that the USSR is a non-imperialist, non-aggressive state. War has its roots in imperialism, in capitalist crises, in the inability of capitalism to solve its market problems.

In February Stalin put the cause of war this way: "Marxists have declared more than once that the capitalist system of world economy harbors elements of general crises and armed conflicts and that, hence, the development of world capitalism in our time proceeds not in the form of smooth and even progress but through crises and military catastrophes.

"The fact is that the unevenness of development of the capitalist countries usually leads in time to violent disturbance of equilibrium in the world system of capitalism, that group of capitalist countries which considers itself worse provided than others with raw materials and markets usually making attempts to alter the situation and repartition the 'spheres of influence' in its favor by armed force. The result is a splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and war between them.

"Perhaps military catastrophes might be avoided if it were possible for raw materials and markets to be periodically redistributed among the various countries in accordance with their economic importance, by agreement and peaceable settlement. But that is impossible to do under present conditions of the development of world economy."

In the capitalist world, therefore, armies are maintained and armaments perfected for the purpose of economic aggrandizement. And war itself is one measure by which capitalism seeks temporarily to overcome some of its most harrowing difficulties. In fact, under imperialism peace is the prelude to war and not to continued peace. At practically no stage, certainly not in the last hundred years, has the capitalist world been free of war either on a regional or global scale. The Soviet people know this as well as they know the name of their own prime minister. And they also know that since the day they began to rule themselves, imperialism has been hostile towards their state and has warred against it in a dozen different ways.

Merely to glance at the record of anti-Soviet violence is to see at once the need for the Soviet government to maintain a sizable army against every menace to the security of the country. The USSR has been invaded at one time or another by the armies of France, Great Britain, the United States, Japan, Italy, China, Spain, Germany, Latvia, Austria, Canada, Finland, Rumania, Serbia and Hungary. According to a former prime minister of Great Britain, Lloyd George, England alone spent close to $500,000,000 in its efforts to destroy the Soviets. Soviet officials abroad have been assassinated, their offices raided. Embargoes have been placed on Soviet trade

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and attempts have been made to blockade her. Documents have been forged to damage Soviet international standing. Thousands of newspapers and hundreds of books have maligned her. All this has happened not over centuries but in a short span of twenty-eight years. And so long as the Soviet state feels imperiled by imperialism, it will take every measure in terms of foreign and military policy to safeguard her integrity.

At rock bottom the world is divided into socialist and capitalist spheres. Imperialism sees no common ground between them. While Soviet socialism moves from success to success, consolidating its strength and unifying its people, imperialism is torn asunder by internal crises and the class conflicts that inevitably express themselves on a world scale in the relations among powers.

Soviet foreign policy is free from such internal impediments and can maintain from its side cooperative relations with other countries. It seeks universal peace because it has nothing to gain from war and because it needs peace to construct and reconstruct. And as the citadel of world peace it attracts all forces in every country which have also nothing to gain from war—particularly the working classes and their allies. It is, therefore, the summit of buffoonery and falsehood to say, as the enemies of the USSR do, that those who support the Soviet peace policy are disloyal to their native lands and are acting as "Soviet agents." If the United States were pursuing a consistent peace policy, we would look with amazement at other countries which charged their citizens with a lack of patriotism because they sought the same peace policies for themselves. It is as though Americans were accused of anti-Americanism because they insist on pasteurizing their milk—a process discovered by a Frenchman, Pasteur. Peace is an international responsibility, and those who best show the way toward its achievement deserve support regardless of the color of their skins, the language they speak or the customs they keep.

WHAT THEN IS SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY? I have thus far tried to show something of its historic and economic roots, without which there can be no effective understanding of what the Soviets have done, are doing and will continue to do in the foreign sphere. Soviet policy is, above all, a very active and very flexible policy resting on socialist principles. The aim of Soviet diplomacy is to prevent dangers by anticipating them. In the pursuit of peace it takes advantage of every situation by estimating trends and currents among states and their inner class relations. Soviet policy is also based on its national needs and national interests, and because it is a workers' state those interests and needs never collide with those of the working masses anywhere.

Without at this point attempting anything definitive, the objectives of Soviet foreign policy can be listed easily. I do not present them in any order of importance because they are all obviously interactive:

1. To prevent the reestablishment of a new *cordon sanitaire* or iron curtain of buffer states. This is an intrinsic part of the Soviet quest for security and lies behind its persistent demand for friendly governments contiguous to its territory.

2. To exterminate fascism completely and to prevent its rise again, particularly in Germany and Japan, by encouraging and supporting the development of people's economic and political democracies in Europe and the Far East.

3. To aid the freedom and independence movements of all colonial peoples. This is part and parcel of the Soviets' insistence on the right to self-determination and the fullest expression of the free will of all peoples.

4. To demand the equality of all nations as their right, for it is only in this way that the USSR can achieve equality for itself and play a decisive role in international affairs commensurate with her position.

5. To prevent the formation of a new imperialist front against herself by preventing the establishment of blocs either on a regional, continental, or world scale.

6. To fight for the unity of the Big Three and the fulfillment of all agreements to which they have jointly committed themselves.

7. To develop political, economic and cultural cooperation with all states genuinely working for peace.

8. To support the cause of world labor in its search for peace and security.

9. To fight for collective security through whatever forms are feasible and realistic.

10. To remain militarily strong and politically vigilant.

The secret of the Soviet quest for peace, a quest which they are determined to win no matter the trials and momentary setbacks, lies in a toast which Stalin offered at a reception in the Kremlin to the makers of Soviet war victory. "I propose a toast," he said, "for simple, ordinary, modest people, for those cogs who keep our great state machine going in all the branches of science, national economy and military affairs. There are very many of them. They have no titles and few of them hold ranks. But they are the people who support us, as the base supports the summit. I drink to the health of these people—our respected comrades."

This Week's Rankest

"Health? Housing? Gentlemen, in my state there ARE no conditions."

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KEYSTONE OF WORLD SECURITY

By THE EDITORS

IF THE problem of keeping peace could be reduced to a mathematical equation the equation would read that the prospects of peace are in direct ratio to the harmony among the Big Three. This is the overshadowing truth of our time, and the enemies of peace know it and act upon it just as do those who yearn for calm and stability in world relations. All the utopian blueprints to bring the globe under the control of a single world government fail to take into account divergent political and economic systems. If the world were not predominantly capitalist, if it were predominantly socialist, a system of international government would be feasible. Short of that, however, it is only the firm collaboration among the Big Three both within and without the United Nations that can give us a sense of community and reduce the area of suspicion, distrust and rivalry.

Despite all the prevailing contradictions, despite the constant danger of new aggressions arising from the growing instability of capitalism and the collision of interests within the capitalist orbit, the peoples of the world demand the cooperation of the Big Three. In fact, it is because of these contradictions that the demand is made, for without the leading powers working together the contradictions break out of bounds and consume the world in fire and flame. The war against Tokyo and Berlin not only destroyed cities and armies, but shattered among many millions the acceptance of war, oppression and enslavement. The war of liberation generated fresh, democratic ideas and those ideas are being transformed into mighty material forces taking on the form of new states, new parties and new independence movements. Thus multiplied many times are the forces making for peace and insistent on cooperation among the Big Three.

With the Big Three bound together in the common enterprise of peace no single nation or group of nations would dare risk initiating a world war. Aggressors could be stopped in their tracks and potential war hazards removed through common action. It is also imperative to stress American-Soviet friendship on which, in the last analysis, the collaboration of the Big Three rests. *This friendship is the keystone in the arch of peace.* If Washington's deliberately contrived hostility toward Moscow persists, if Washington uses every stick it can find with which to beat our Soviet friends, the UN will reflect that hostility and its work will be impeded accordingly. With the welding of a strong friendship between the two countries the UN has every chance of success. British reactionary officialdom, moreover, will be forced to retreat from its present position of undermining cooperation and will be compelled to fall into line in face of the resistance of the other two. In fighting for American-Soviet friendship one fights for the best guarantee that there will be no more Munichs or the political fiascos that pave the way to war.

Russia has never been at war with our country. More than once have the foreign policies of the United States and Russia moved in parallel directions. At one of the most crucial points in American history involving the unity of the nation it was the Russians, by sending naval squadrons to New York and San Francisco, who helped avert the intervention of Great Britain on the side of the Confederacy during the Civil War. And the war of liberation itself has shown how much common ground there is between the American and Soviet peoples. Many a GI has discovered how much his Soviet counterpart is like himself in vigor, in curiosity. Moreover, the technical genius of Americans has fired the imagination of the whole Soviet people. Above all: because millions of Soviet men and women lie dead, millions of Americans have escaped the Nazi jackboot.

Prime Minister Joseph Stalin has time and again indicated that differences of opinion and approach were inevitable but that there was no difference in the realm of making peace which could not be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of both our countries. The crime of American imperialism is, among other things, its unwillingness to make compromises because it fears that the compromises will obstruct its efforts to put the world in its back pocket. Imperialism is the enemy of American-Soviet friendship. For between the peoples of our two lands there is no barrier that cannot be hurdled and in their cooperation lies the shape of the future.

LET us remember the resounding words of Walt Whitman: "You, whoever you are! You daughter or son of England! . . . You Russ in Russia! . . . All you continentals of Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia, indifferent of place! All you on the numberless islands of the archipelagoes of the sea! And you of centuries hence, when you listen to me! And you, each and everywhere, whom I specify not, but include just the same! Health to you! Good will to you—from me and America sent. Each of us inevitable; each of us limitless—each of us with his or her right upon the earth; each of us allow'd the eternal purports of the earth; each of us here as divinely as any is here. . . . I have looked for brothers, sisters, lovers, and found them for me in all lands. . . . What cities the light or warmth penetrates, I penetrate those cities myself; all islands to which birds wing their way, I wing my way myself. I find my home wherever there are homes of men. . . ."

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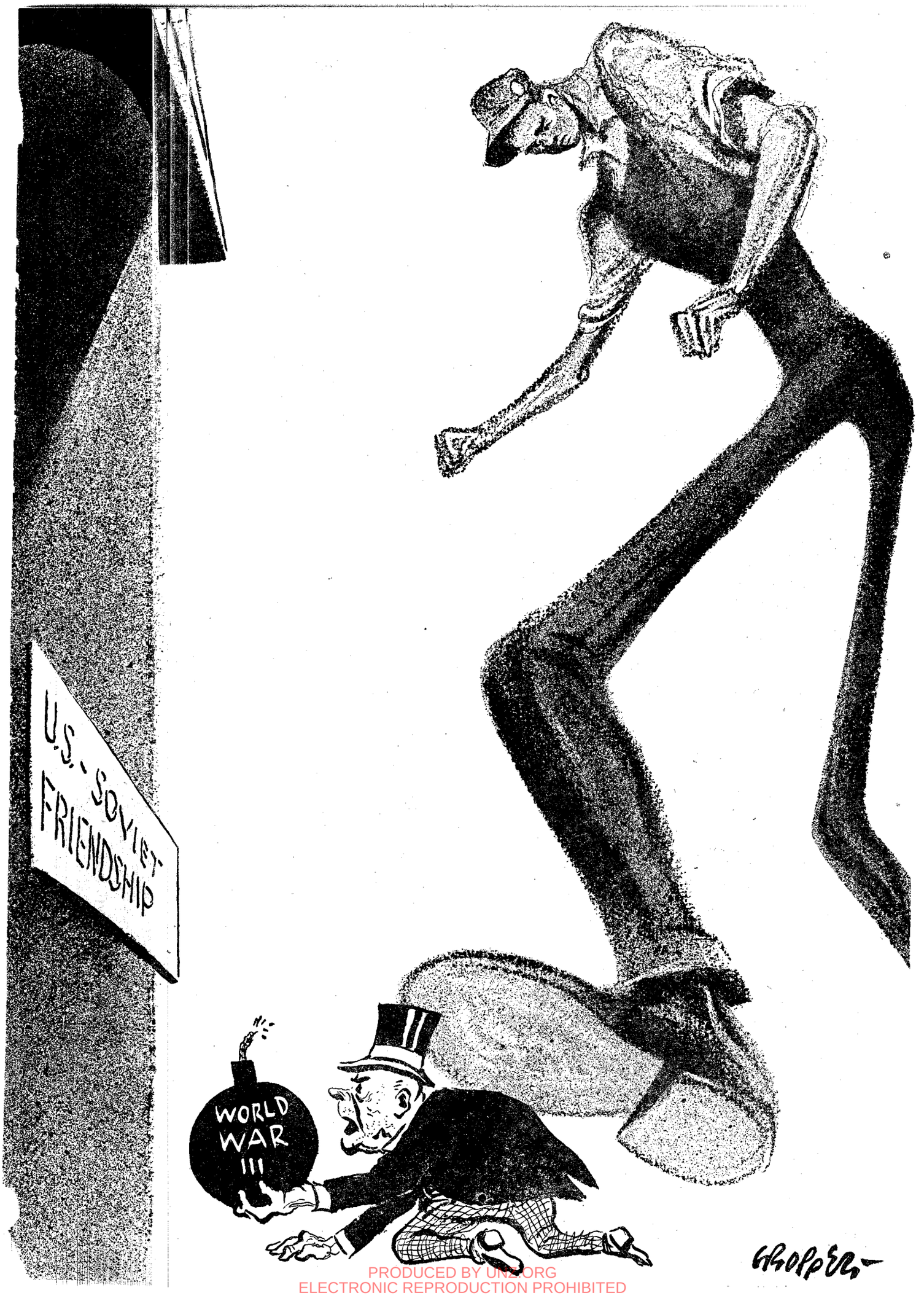

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CONSPIRACY: THEN AND NOW

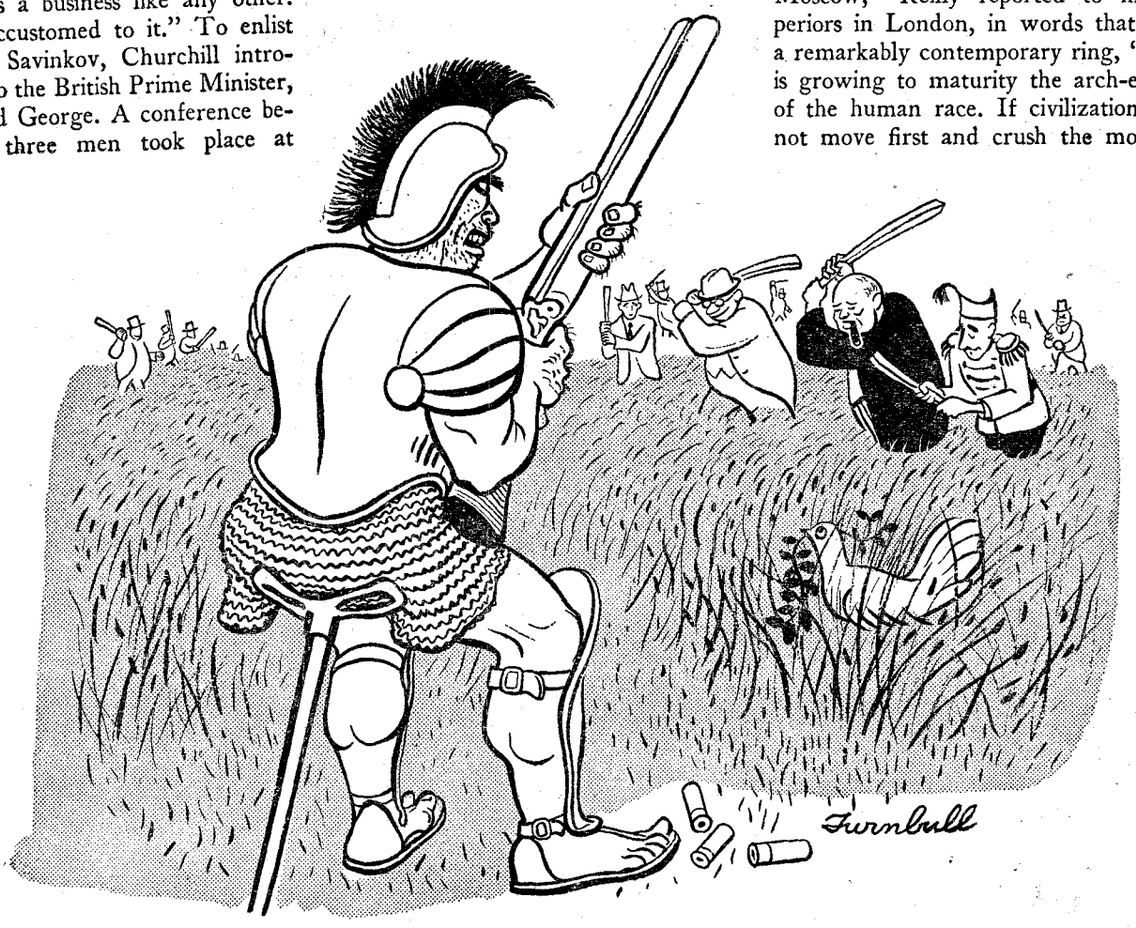
By ALBERT E. KAHN

THERE was a distinctly spiritual and moralistic flavor to the address Winston Churchill delivered on March 5 at Fulton, Missouri. The speech was full of such devout phrases as "the fear of the Lord," "the essential brotherhood of man," "Christian civilization" and "the temple of peace." Venerable cynic though he is, Churchill has always been irrepressibly fond of plotting imperialist crimes in a religious atmosphere.

Perhaps the most classic instance of this occurred in the summer of 1922. The war of intervention against the Soviet Republic had failed, and Churchill was diligently striving to organize an armed uprising against the Soviet government with the object of replacing it with a British-controlled military dictatorship. Churchill's candidate for dictator was the Rusian traitor, Boris Savinkov, a professional terrorist and assassin who once casually informed Somerset Maugham, "Believe me, assassination is a business like any other. One gets accustomed to it." To enlist support for Savinkov, Churchill introduced him to the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. A conference between the three men took place at Chequers, the country retreat of British Prime Ministers in office. Here is how Churchill describes this meeting in his book, *Great Contemporaries*: "It was Sunday. The Prime Minister was entertaining several leading Free Church divines, and was himself surrounded by a band of Welsh singers who had traveled from their native principality to do him choral honors. For several hours they sang Welsh hymns in the most beautiful manner. Afterwards we had our talk." The friendly chat which followed the singing of hymns dealt, of course, with such mundane matters as organizing a *putsch* against the Soviet government and murdering its leaders.

At Fulton, Missouri, Churchill expressed grave concern over the world-wide menace of Communist fifth columns. "The Communist parties or fifth columns," Churchill gravely warned, "constitute a growing menace to Christian civilization." It is said that great minds run in the same channels. This may be why Churchill's words read like a carefully translated excerpt from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. But whatever the philosophical affinity between these two defenders of Christianity, one common talent must be admitted: when Churchill discusses fifth columns, he speaks—as Hitler spoke—with real authority on the subject.

At the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Churchill's official title was British Minister of War and Aviation. Unofficially, he was a leading representative of the British Secret Service. In this dual capacity, Churchill supervised the building of the first fifth column in Soviet Russia. His chief aide in this task was the fabulous British spy, Capt. George Sidney Reilly, who was transferred to Russia early in 1918 as director of British Secret Intelligence operations in that country. Reilly's personal feelings about Soviet Russia were much the same as Churchill's. "Here in Moscow," Reilly reported to his superiors in London, in words that have a remarkably contemporary ring, "there is growing to maturity the arch-enemy of the human race. If civilization does not move first and crush the monster,



Open Season.

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while yet there is time, the monster will finally overwhelm civilization. . . . Mankind must unite in a holy alliance against this midnight terror!"

Reilly hoped to make his own personal contribution to this holy cause by staging an armed coup against the Soviet government, seizing Lenin and the other Soviet leaders, parading them through the streets in their underwear—"to show the populace that they were human"—before executing them, and then restoring Czarism to Russia. To carry out this ambitious project, Reilly organized a fifth column in Russia, composed of former White Guard officers, remnants of the Czarist secret police, Social Revolutionary terrorists and mostly other counterrevolutionary elements. Before long, Reilly's agents were operating in the Russian Cheka, occupied key posts in the Red Army and had even penetrated the Kremlin guard.

As part of their preliminary work, Social Revolutionary confederates of Reilly assassinated the Soviet Commissar for Press Affairs, Volodarsky, on June 21, 1918; the German Ambassador Mirbach in Moscow on July 6, in the hope of provoking a new German attack against the Soviet Republic; and, on August 30, Uritsky, the head of the Petrograd Cheka. On the same day that Uritsky was murdered, a Social Revolutionary terrorist named Fanya Kaplan fired two shots at Lenin in Moscow. Although the wounds were not fatal, Lenin never fully recovered from their effects. The gun which Fanya Kaplan used had been given to her by Reilly's accomplice and Churchill's friend, Boris Savinkov.

When it became apparent that the counterrevolutionary elements in Russia could not overthrow the Soviet government by themselves, even under the expert supervision of the British Secret Service, the interventionary troops of Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan began disembarking at Russian ports. By the summer of 1919, without declaration of war, the armed forces of fourteen states had invaded the USSR.

To explain the presence of the invaders on Russian soil, various high-sounding moral principles of the Fulton, Missouri, brand were officially advanced. The British troops, according to their government, had come to help "save" the Russians "from dismemberment and destruction at the hands of Germany." The United States government explained that American soldiers were being sent to assist the Russians "to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense." Tokyo's virtuous explanation for sending Japanese troops proclaimed: "In adopting this course, the Japanese government remain constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship, and they affirm their policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia and abstaining from all interference with her national politics."

SOMEWHAT less obscure language was used among the inner councils of the Allied statesmen. At the secret sessions of the Paris Peace Conference, when Woodrow Wilson urged the withdrawal of Allied troops from Russian soil, Churchill answered: "Complete withdrawal of all Allied troops is a logical and clear policy, but its consequence would be the destruction of all non-Bolshevik armies in Russia. . . . Such a policy would be equivalent to pulling out the linch-pin from the whole machine. There would be no further armed resistance to the Bolsheviks in Russia, and an interminable vista of violence and misery would be all that remained for the whole of Russia."

It is of course difficult to know what Churchill regards as "an interminable vista of violence and misery." To one accustomed to think in the grandiose terminology of British imperialism, the costs of the war of intervention might seem infinitesimal. But during the more than three years of this undeclared war against Soviet Russia, 7,000,000 Russian men, women and children died through battle, starvation and disease; and the material costs to Russia were later estimated by the Soviet Government at $60,000,000,000.

Following the debacle of the interventionary forces, the emigre remnants of the White Russian armies were salvaged in preparation for a new invasion of Soviet Russia. White Russian army units were established throughout Europe and the Far East. Special academies for training ex-Czarist officers and their sons were founded in the Balkans. Eighteen thousand anti-Soviet Cossack troops were sent into training quarters in Yugoslavia, and 17,000 White Russian troops moved into Bulgaria. Thousands more were stationed in Greece, Hungary and the Baltic states. A White Russian Army of 30,000 men, under the terrorist Boris Savinkov, was established in Poland. Tens of thousands of White Russian troops made their headquarters in Japan. Throughout the 1920's these anti-Soviet troops made frequent sorties into Soviet territory, burned down collective farms, assassinated Soviet leaders and acted as centers of anti-Soviet espionage, sabotage and terrorism.

When Hitler assumed leadership of the crusade against Bolshevism, he incorporated the White Russian forces into the Wehrmacht and into Nazi fifth columns. On June 22, 1941, White Russian regiments marched alongside the German troops invading the Soviet Union. (Following established custom, Hitler issued a proclamation explaining he was acting as "the representative of European culture and civilization." His proclamation concluded with the reverent words: "May God help us especially in this fight!")

HOPE apparently springs eternal even in the imperialist breast. Undaunted by the fate of the Allied interventionists and the Nazi Wehrmacht, the Don Quixotes of finance-capitalism are today once again organizing anti-Soviet armies on European soil.

In British-occupied territory in Germany, the British army has been keeping intact units of the Nazi Wehrmacht, totaling a force estimated at almost one million men. On Nov. 10, 1945, Marshal Zhukov submitted to the Allied Control Council a documented report on this situation, listing the German divisions, regiments and battalions, with their strengths, locations and assignments. Zhukov charged that the maintenance of these German military formations was in violation of the Potsdam agreement.

In the American zone of occupation, the United States Army has been recruiting, equipping and arming thousands of fascist Polish and Yugoslavian troops to serve in "labor service companies" and as "guards." "In the American zone almost 17,000 displaced Poles are in the service of the American Army," reported Raymond Daniell in a dispatch to the New York *Times* on February 3. "Some 10,000 Yugoslavians have organized themselves into what they designate as the 'Royal Yugoslav Army' and have taken an oath of fealty to former King Peter." According to Daniell, former German soldiers have recognized "among Poles now wearing regular United States Army uniforms" troops who fought with them on the Eastern Front against Russia. "Most members of these service companies," declared Daniell, "are as anti-Semitic and anti-Russian as any Nazi."

A similar situation exists in Italy. On

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February 4 Herbert Matthews cabled the New York *Times*: "The full story of what the Polish Second Corps is doing in Italy is an ugly one. The Poles are not only armed but are trained to precision and are maneuvered constantly to be in prime condition to reconquer Poland or invade the Soviet Union." The Polish Second Corps numbers over 120,000 men. Some 50,000 of them are said to have fought with the Nazis.

The anti-Soviet Gen. Wladislaw Anders, who commands the Polish Second Corps, is under British orders, and the expenses of his army are paid by the British treasury.

On February 16 Soviet Vice Commissar Andrei Vyshinsky submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations a memorandum of Marshal Tito charging that units of the Polish Second Corps had been moving northward closer to the Yugoslav border for several months. According to Tito's memorandum, Anders was recruiting fascist Yugoslav troops in Italy under the slogan, "Fight Against Communism in Yugoslavia."

Operating on Polish soil, secret agents of Anders' British-financed army are waging a campaign of ruthless terrorism against the democratic Polish government. Fifth column bands organized by these agents have thus far murdered more than 2,000 persons, including leaders of the Polish Workers Party, Polish Socialist Party, Peasant Party and Democratic Party. At the same time these agents carry on wide-spread sabotage activities and have organized pogroms against the Jewish people. According to the Polish authorities, a number of Anders' agents who have been arrested came into Poland wearing English uniforms and carrying English identification papers.

As after World War I, Allied relief agencies also are playing their part in aiding the anti-Soviet forces. At the March 25 session of UNRRA in Atlantic City, A. M. Baranovsky, Vice-premier of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, reported that displaced persons' camps in the Anglo-American zone of Germany had become a haven for war criminals. Among those receiving UNRRA aid, declared Baranovsky, are former German colonists who settled in Poland and the Ukraine, "traitors, quislings and collaborationists" who "plotted with the Nazis to invade the Ukraine and formed special SS divisions, taking active part in military operations." A leader of the fascist Ukrainian People's Association, Baranovsky revealed, is now head of a DP camp in Augsberg, Germany.

The maintenance of anti-Soviet military forces in Europe represents, of course, only one phase of the current campaign against the Soviet Union. As *Red Star*, the Soviet newspaper, recently reported, "The preservation of German cartels and monopolies and fascist army units are links in the same chain." Other links in the chain are the atom bomb, the get-tough-with-Russia policy of Byrnes, Bevin, & Co., and the efforts of American and British agents to foster friction between the USSR and its neighbors (a necessary substitute for the *cordon sanitaire*, which Clemenceau aptly described as the "policy of barbed-wire entanglement from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea"). But of all these maneuvers, the military most clearly indicate the ultimate objective of the anti-Soviet drive: a new Anglo-American war against Soviet Russia.

As Churchill genteely phrased it at Fulton: "Ladies and gentlemen, opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries."

Mr. Kahn is co-author with Michael Sayers of "The Great Conspiracy," from which some of the material in this article was drawn.

SILENT TROOPSHIP

By CHARLES HUMBOLDT

I SIT in my room in lower Manhattan and hear the silent troopship come in. The shore horns bellow at her like wide-eyed buffaloes, but she is in no mood to answer them. She heads quietly for her dock. My comrades on board are sober at the racket of sight and sound. I can't say what they are thinking, but I know how they feel. I can't talk in their name, but I want to speak *for* them. I came home on such a ship.

At that time, gentlemen in Washington still had the old war on their hands, that war which they are annoyed to remember, which cost only 20,000,000 lives and still gives them so many headaches. Housing for veterans, jobs, price control, Potsdam, Poland, Yugoslavia, people dreaming of freedom.

At that time the men wondered, would they go to the Pacific or be discharged? How long would *It* go on, how long, for Chrissake, how long? The war was a monster running amok, too big and wild for any given number of them to stop. So each man inclined to underrate his role in ending it. The actors forgot themselves; they almost believed they were just a breathless audience waiting for masters of magic to show them Peace.

Now suddenly the audience is alive to itself. Something has gone wrong on the stage. The magicians are pulling the wrong animals out of their top hats. Instead of the snowy dove they promised, a hyena glares over the footlights. Only Mr. Byrnes, with his mouth full of feathers, thinks he is fooling anybody.

Mr. Byrnes does not mention the veterans when he speaks. Maybe, deep in his patent leather heart, he suspects that they don't believe him when he cries, "Peace, Peace." Maybe he has heard of the silent troopships.

Maybe he has heard of the boys being drafted now, whose mothers—even though we have peace of a sort—kiss them goodby and tremble. Who try to avoid looking trapped, shipped to a future over which they are expected to have no say. Who, some gentlemen hope, will serve alongside that new pride of our ruling class, the professional soldier, absorbing the noble tradition of the Lancer, the Hussar and the Feldwebel.

Understand, once and for all, everybody, that we veterans will fight brain and fist against war. But first let us study Mr. Byrnes' mind: "If it comes to war, who can accuse us? The cards are stacked pretty near around the table. Almost all of them are sewed up: my British partner, the Egyptian slave, the Chinese waiter, the beggar from France, the poor, obliging relatives from Brazil and Mexico, and the thin petitioner from Holland with his eye on the Indies. If anything happens it is the fault of that man who walked out of the room." So Mr. Byrnes lifts his toga out of the mothballs and his words flutter in defense of small nations and the rights of man.

But Mr. Byrnes' face flashes on the

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screen in the room where the reporters sit. His voice, which hides nothing, is cast on the troopships rocking their way toward New York and Frisco. Ask the reporters whether they would call this crabapple stare even a mask of peace. The listeners, citizens and veterans both, do not hear a voice ringing with concern for peace. Mr. Byrnes does not make the impression he practiced to achieve.

WHAT'S wrong, why doesn't the crowd applaud? Has the orator missed his cue? No. Has he forgotten his line? No. Did he put on the wrong robe? No. Then what the hell's the matter? And why couldn't that fatted friend of his, Mr. Churchill, put across his old act? It used to bring the house down year after year.

Perhaps we don't forget so quickly anymore. We remember that our ally, the Soviet Union, lost millions of human beings, saving us from a horror that might have engulfed even you, Mr. Byrnes. As soldiers, we were taught the meaning of security. When a great comrade nation of nations wants friends on its borders, we can keep our shirts on. What are you doubling up your fists for?

Come across, what is it, diplomats? Is it oil, is it empire, or is it fear? Are the heads of the big companies on your tails, the ones with gasoline in their veins and dollar bills in their brains? Don't they want results? Aren't they talking of Roman holidays, Babylonian feasts, of running the whole damn world? Old fashioned dreamers reaching out toward a new-fangled death. If Hiroshima, why not Moscow?

The diplomats are old hands at the pump. They puffed up Mikhailovich until he burst; they expanded General Bor until he exploded; now they have blown little Hussein Ala to the size of a Macy balloon. I see the stuffed, small-boy's face of Mr. Stettinius goggling at this floating wonder; he can't keep his hands from shaking. He thinks this figure of fun looks like a real person.

What are they hiding behind the balloon of Iran? Push it aside and see. Here are the piled-up ribs of the starved workers of Calcutta, the wounded and insulted Greek heroes, the bloody, smashed foreheads of the Indonesian lovers of liberty, the Philippine martyrs driven to the jungle by our shining bayonets. There behold the Middle Age fool, Franco, buying arms with our money to fight France; the fat panders of China guarded by our troops; the mangy counts and duchesses of fascism escorted by our colonels. And finally there is Mr. Byrnes' native state, South Carolina, where his aristocratic admirers look on a Negro who gives them no "trouble" as a "good ol' hound dog."

So the high morality is vicious nonsense, and the concern for human rights the aria of an envious crow. For where are those rights about which you caw so angrily, Mr. Byrnes? The right to work, and health and happiness; the unequivocal right to equality of all races and religions; the right to a fruitful, productive life, free from want and fear? Do sharecroppers enjoy them, Negroes, Jews, the unemployed, the striker blinded by tear gas, the veteran looking for a room to put his family in? Are they not, rather, underwritten in the country you hate, Gromyko's and Stalin's fatherland?

Big shots, isn't your ethical rage nothing but fear? It scares you that the release of atomic energy, the noble work you sully of scientists whom you think to turn into servants, may be used to free man from your enslaving. That in the Soviet Union it will strike new veins of spirit, a culture so bright it will make your schemes for the world look like children's nightmares. You are frightened of those who don't defile everything they touch, who see the uranium atom as more than the chief component of a bomb.

Mr. Byrnes, some day when you are in New York, and you hear horns in the harbor, drive down and watch our ship come in. Leave your top hat at Hunter College; it won't help. When the boat docks, go up to any man with a duffle bag and tell him about that streamlined, radioactive war you're juggling with. Spare no details: the effect on reinforced concrete, havoc in the workers' quarter, the shrivelled trees in the Park of Culture and Rest, the appearance of bodies exposed to the direct rays of V-3, 4 or 5.

Explain how war is simply an extension of diplomacy, and profit a natural by-product of war. Tell that soldier what he has to gain by making the rest of the world loathe the sight of him. Teach him to crush the outstretched hand of mankind. Offer him a return trip to war.

Then make your getaway in a hurry, Mr. Byrnes. Get off the pier, get off the bench, run back to your mint-julep gang and take life easy. Because when the veterans catch on to your impatient holy talk, when they see your true master face, they will get rid of you. They will break your power and start working on a decent future for themselves, one without your kind around.

"The Burden," pen and ink sketch by Joseph Hirsch.

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ACTION FOR PEACE

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE recent successful struggles of hundreds of thousands of American workers for increased wages point up a contrast in the sphere of foreign policy. For the fact is that neither labor nor the people as a whole has yet shown similar activity in the fight for peace—a fight in which the enemy is the same as on the domestic scene: monopolistic big business, whose imperialist aims are mirrored in the Truman administration's course in foreign affairs. There is a sharp ferment in many places, a strong militancy in some sectors. Nevertheless, great masses have not yet been involved and we have not solved our American problem in the field of action against the forces of imperialism and war.

Let us look at one striking example of our backwardness in the field of action as compared with other countries. In France, in China, throughout the Balkans, even in certain of the Latin American countries Communist parties constitute major factors in the life of those nations. This means they constitute major factors for peace and progress. They are huge mass organizations of the people led by experienced leaders who play a conspicuous role in national and international affairs. They form solid fortifications of democracy.

The Communist Party in the United States today also plays an important role in giving leadership, fiber and militancy to the organized forces of democracy. But it is still a small party with a very slender and inadequate base in the big industries. Large numbers of trade unionists have gone along with its leadership; many, indeed, have gladly accepted that leadership. But there is not yet that powerful rallying to the vanguard of the progressive struggle which has characterized the contemporary history of China, France and other countries.

Take another equally striking example. In the largest part of the world, *except the United States*, organized labor is united and serves as a solid force against reaction. Is half the leadership of the trade unions fighting on the side of reaction and against democracy in France or in China or in Cuba? Does such a notorious situation exist anywhere in the world except in the United States? With only about a third of American workers organized, we find in this period of grave crisis one-half of that third being misled into the arms of the enemy.

Yes, action is difficult in the United States today because we have still to solve basic questions such as labor unity and the building of a strong Communist Party. Yet the obstacles are not insuperable. If it has been possible to stir large masses on such domestic issues as wages, housing, price control, it should be possible to stir them on the central issue of whether our country is to be dragged on the path of reactionary war.

Monopoly has attained a power in this country unrivalled in all history and unmatched in the contemporary capitalist world. It has the strength to produce for its own selfish ends and the ability to corrupt its adversaries which make even the British tories envious. The First World War gave American monopolists a running start; World War II established them—but only as the greatest among the powers of reaction. While reaction recedes before the people throughout most of the world, it finds its final fortress within the "traditionally" democratic United States. This is a factor which partially explains, without excusing, the relative backwardness of American progressive forces.

BUT this is only one side of the American scene. There is also the vast history of American labor struggles which contributed so much to preventing monopoly from completely throttling the country. There is the history of labor organization and the history of the birth of the CIO. The economic crises of the past have taught many Americans the need for banding together for their own welfare. If American monopoly has won many battles, there are the many battles it has lost. In fact it lost some of them only recently as a result of the strikes of the steel, electrical, auto, packinghouse and other workers. These are the solid facts upon which a more democratic future can be built and which can give us confidence.

Only socialism can bring lasting peace by eliminating the economic causes of war. Yet we cannot now project socialism as an immediate goal, for political conditions in the United States are not ripe for that step even though economic conditions are fully ripe. Does this mean that another world war is inevitable? Does the fact that we are not prepared to eliminate the source of war now mean that there is no anti-war program which we can adopt? No, these would be false conclusions.

We live in a period of rapid change and flux. No situation remains static. Everywhere you look there is either progress toward emancipation as in Indonesia or Puerto Rico, or toward democracy as in China, or toward the deepening and strengthening of a socialist society as in the USSR; or, on the contrary, retrogression toward fascism as in Argentina or Greece or in important segments of American life.

The struggle for peace in its broadest terms is to strengthen all trends everywhere which lead to democracy and simultaneously to weaken all trends leading to reaction and war. Our immediate job in the United States cannot be the replacement of monopoly capitalism by socialism, but to organize the people's forces under labor's leadership to resist monopoly's encroachments on every front, to curb its influence on foreign policy, and to weaken its grip through the democratic nationalization of key sectors of our economy. We have to prevent the imperialists from carrying their program to its ultimate conclusion. In struggling for this objective we shall, through a program of organization and action, be preparing the conditions needed for the eventual transition to a higher democracy—socialism—and permanent security.

Never in all history have the democratic forces throughout the world been so strong and well prepared for this struggle. In vast sections of the colonial world strong independence movements are making it increasingly difficult for the imperialists to carry out their program of enslavement and exploitation. It is not only in Indonesia, where a people's republic is today challenging Dutch overlordship, British mercenaries and American arms (without labels), that imperialism is being turned back. The various national groups in Indo-China are forcing important concessions from French imperialism; a strong nationalist ferment is sweeping Burma and Malaya; Filipino peasants and workers and petit-bourgeois elements are organizing to prevent their hard-won independence from being stolen by collaborators, Falangists and Ameri-

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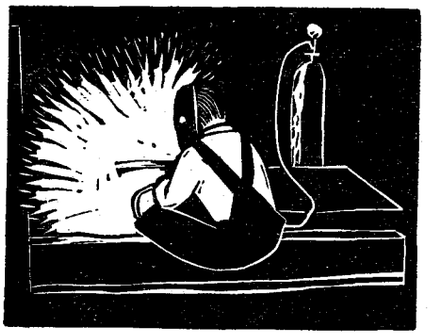
can imperialists under MacArthur's leadership; the Puerto Rican people through their elected representatives are pushing the Truman administration into a tight corner from which it can extricate itself, if at all, only by the crudest forms of suppression which will expose its imperialist hand; India no longer cowers before the snarls of the British lion nor simpers at the syrupy words of London's Social-Democrats. All these people are our allies, and we theirs in the struggle for peace and democracy.

The people of China have already delivered a resounding blow to American imperialism. They have proved too strong for the reactionary coalition of Chiang Kai-shek and the Truman administration, even though the latter resorted to armed intervention. They have not yet defeated American imperialism and Chinese feudalism, but they have forced upon them a compromise which was decisive in preventing the renewal of international warfare on Chinese soil after V-J Day.

Throughout the largest part of Europe the anti-fascists who undermined the power of Nazi rule are now organizing into great people's political movements which nearly everywhere are successfully challenging the British-American-sponsored return to reaction. Churchill was lying when he tried to make us believe that these people's movements were succeeding only behind his mythical "iron curtain," and there only under Soviet tutelage. He conveniently overlooked the obvious fact that one of the greatest people's movements in the world had arisen in France, on his very doorstep hundreds of miles from the USSR. These huge masses in the Far East and in Europe are the allies of American progressives. And we must be theirs.

WE CAN also look closer to home for more allies, organized and active ones. In Latin America there exists in every single country a militant, progressive labor movement. These national movements are federated in a hemisphere-wide organization called the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL). First in the ranks of anti-fascists, first in the ranks of good neighbors, the CTAL constitutes the leading force in the hemisphere, not excepting our organizations in North America, for democracy in this part of the earth. Forming an important core of the trade union movement and reaching widely and deeply into the political life of the country are the mass organizations of Communists in such countries as Chile, Cuba and Brazil. No AFL clique from the north, even with State Department collusion, will ever smash these democratic forces of Latin America. Here again we have staunch, experienced friends waiting only for vigorous cooperation from their North American brothers and sisters.

Beyond and above all the democratic mass movements in China, France, Latin America, Indonesia, India or Puerto Rico stands the Soviet Union. The USSR today is the central bastion of peace and security. There is an ally without whose friendship we perish. There is an ally with whom we must



insist that our nation remain on terms of close cooperation.

We often hear it said that time is on our side, that the inevitable progress of history runs against the fascists and the imperialists and in favor of democracy, freedom and permanent security. But time is no entity with a will of its own which operates on our side. Time cannot decree democratic progress. Time is simply a measure of historical space in which events may move forward or backward. What good is time if atom bombs destroy those who might have enjoyed it. Time serves none except those who grasp and hold the initiative in guiding the events of which it is composed. Time will not make Indonesia free from Dutch and British rapacity any more than it will raise wages at Westinghouse.

Let's make sense about this. The reactionaries would have us believe that time is on our side because they want to lull us into complacency while they call the tune of history. We must recognize that history will go our way only if we as individuals, organized in great mass movements, make it do so. I know of only one inevitability and that is that inaction brings defeat.

WHAT can we do? From Iran to Korea, from Argentina to Hunter College to Manchuria we find situations which demand quick, powerful and decisive action on behalf of democracy.

And we can take the following action:

1. Link up every struggle on the domestic field with the fight for peace and world security. The struggle for higher wages, for price control, for racial equality, and all other struggles for internal democracy must be made part of the larger struggle for a foreign policy that will prevent another war.

2. Build mass organizations among the various democratic sectors of the American people to wage the fight for peace and security. Where such organizations already exist, or have a start, they must be strengthened. Such efforts cannot be separated from the immediate struggle of the trade unions, progressive church groups, organizations for civil rights, veterans' groups or others. They must be based upon such struggles and made part of them.

3. Establish and strengthen contacts with democratic movements abroad by sending delegations and commissions to extend democratic ties, investigate conditions at first hand, and invite similar delegations and commissions to visit us.

4. Strengthen the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Democratic Federation of Women, the World Youth Organization and similar international organizations by developing powerful and active American support.

5. Build the labor and progressive press, radio and other channels in this country so that they may more effectively serve the democratic movement.

6. Organize so that the impact of mass democratic opinion can speak loudly and effectively in the 1946 elections for policies and candidates which will ensure peace and security.

7. Maintain mass people's lobbies in Washington to bring unending pressure upon the legislative and executive branches for policies which correspond with the demand for peace and security.

8. By these means develop independent political action powerful enough to smash the present reactionary coalition of Republicans and Southern bourbons as well as prepare the way for an independent peace and anti-monopoly party.

9. Finally, organize and fight on every sector of the anti-imperialist front: for the freedom of all colonies, for the emancipation of all semi-colonial areas, against the atomic bomb monopoly, against the militarists in our own government, for the United Nations organizations, and above all, for American-Soviet friendship based upon the cooperation of the major powers that brought victory in the war.

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THE PEOPLE FIGHT FOR PEACE

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

PAST the Commerce Building on the Constitution Avenue side, boys of the 82nd Airborne and other heroes of the war against fascism marched in the Army Day parade. Watched by somber silent throngs lining the street in the sharp April sunlight, a stone's throw away, streaming into the 14th Street entrance to the Commerce Building auditorium which Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace had made available, came during the past weekend delegates from twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia to attend the Win-the-Peace Conference. They came to speak out against the efforts being made to plunge the world into another war before the boys are out of uniform.

And while the delegates assembled on the second of the four-day conference, the ominous overtones of the President's Army Day speech in Chicago heightened what Rep. Hugh DeLacy of Washington called the shadow of the atomic bombs hanging over the conference and caused Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida to declare on Sunday: "The President says our foreign policy is a universal one which takes in everyone everywhere, and that no one in the remotest corner of the globe can escape our scrutiny, and by implication our interference." Senator Pepper's was a fighting, militant speech, but filled with humor and warmth—and a confidence in his audience as representatives, as he said, of the little people of the country and the organized little people. It was the high spot in a program in which both speakers and participating delegates appeared to meet and draw new zest and solidarity from the challenge flung to the conference by the Red-baiters.

The conference convened in an atmosphere charged with epithets hurled by Rep. John Rankin on the floor of Congress; and his remarks were dutifully followed up by hostile news stories. Rankin had said the conference was sponsored by a bunch of Communists. The United Press wrote that "amidst charges that it was a Communist front outfit," the "controversial Win-the-Peace Conference" met with four of its original twenty-three congressional sponsors missing, and the UP added hopefully "there were indications that others might follow." To this Senator Pepper replied that the meeting was an inspiration to him, that it gave great comfort to all in Congress who were fighting for democratic principles. "I know I don't have to tell you," he said, "that it matters not what our critics call us, or what their vicious propaganda machines resort to. The important thing is what in future years will be said as to whether our efforts contributed to peace."

Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho said that he had been warned about the conference because it was "pinko." Well, he observed, he believed in peace and prosperity like millions of others and if these are "pinko" people we need more of them, particularly now, "when the war drums are beating."

Rep. Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, that hardy warrior, charged that Rep. Rankin of Mississippi and other critics of the conference are "men who even during the war talked and acted as if we were at war with Russia rather than with Germany and Japan." Rep. Ellis Patterson, urging that such win-the-peace organizations be formed in every state, declared that "the attempt by Rep. Rankin and others to discredit the conference was intimidation against free speech," and that there had been too much "intimidation by insinuation emanating from the halls of Congress."

But it remained for Rep. Hugh DeLacy to lament in mock seriousness that no one had approached him to ask him to withdraw. "I suppose they just assume I belong with Sen. Harley Kilgore, Rep. John Coffee, Rep. Sabath and the others on the conference letterhead who are in there working for the people's interests year in and year out."

WHEN you try to characterize a group of some 900 persons, which the conference numbered at its peak, of whom 712 were official delegates, and try to define just why they seemed so solid, so competent, you wind up with the fact that many represented trade unions, both CIO and AFL, and that there were a lot of people from Negro and other minority groups who took the floor to speak on resolutions, and that there were many veterans.

Take the delegation of seventeen from Wisconsin, a majority of whom were women, headed by a pretty little woman who looked to be in her thirties and whose daughter lost a husband in the war. Her name is Mrs. Emil Jones. They have organized a Win-the-Peace organization in Wisconsin, with a broad sponsoring committee of fifty church, labor and other leaders. And because they ran a quarter of a page advertisement urging that our foreign policy subscribe to Big Three unity, the Milwaukee *Journal*, a conservative paper which followed the Roosevelt policies during the war, ran a Red-baiting editorial accusing this broad group of citizens of following a Communist line. This despite the fact that the group persuaded the mayor of Milwaukee to declare a three-minute interval of silence to be observed in shops and schools on April 12, the anniversary of President Roosevelt's death, in commemoration of and rededication to his principles and policies.

Take the delegation of fourteen from California, composed of such people as William Bidner, chairman of Mobilization for Democracy, and Lillian Meisner, of the Council of the Hollywood Guild, and Assemblyman Bill Rosenthal, and Gordon Williams of the American Veterans Committee. In Los Angeles on March 17, 5,000 persons packed a "Plot Against the Peace" mass meeting. And from San Francisco came Hans Hoffman, delegate of the Atomic Age Forum, representing 100 civic and trade union groups, religious and scientific organizations. A CIO longshoreman arrived two days early with a veteran AFL Cooks Union delegate, Charles Fleischmann.

From the State of Washington was a lively delegation including Fair Taylor of the staff of the Washington *New World*, leader in the fight for continuing nursery schools; Jean Hatten, secretary of the Washington State Win-the-Peace Committee (that sponsored a rally of 2,000 which raised the funds to fly the delegates here); Fletcher Yarbrough, president of the Seattle NAACP; Victor Case, veteran, member of AVC, and musician in the Seattle and Tacoma symphonies; and Rep. William J. Pennock of the state Legislature. Two other state Legislators also came. They were K. M. Kirkendall of Ohio, a delegate from the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union of Dayton, and Donald C. Teigland, Illinois, a legislator and member of the Four Cities Industrial Union Council.

The delegates heard from Dr. Max Yergan how in the Union of South Africa it is a criminal offense to try to organize workers in mining, the biggest industry, and how the mines pay a wage daily of from eleven to thirty-one cents

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while millions in Africa are starving because of the policies of the Churchills and the Smuts. Then Negro delegates took the floor and spoke of the fascist attacks on Negroes in Columbia, Tenn., and Freeport, Long Island. Typical of the conference was the delegation from the Food and Tobacco Workers Union and the pointed announcement from the platform that two delegates had been seen smoking Lucky Strikes, where the union has a strike in progress. Three delegates came from the Reynolds' Camels plant in Winston Salem, N. C., where there is a local of 15,000 members, white and black.

Extremely active participants were the veterans. The conference was the means of providing a reunion for four veterans who last met in Japan. One of them—Peter I. Senn, formerly of the Signal Corps, now back at the University of Chicago—was the chairman of the first chapter of the American Veterans Committee formed in Tokyo. He spoke proudly to this reporter of their forums conducted in the Dai Ichi Building, Gen. MacArthur's headquarters. The forums were conducted by Bernard Rubin, who wrote the popular "Japan Today" column in the Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes*, and who recently was fired from the paper by Army authorities.

EVEN while they were here, the Negro delegates had fresh evidence of Washington's Jim Crow. Charlotte Pinkett, the beautiful executive secretary of the Bilbo picketline, was with two white girls—Mary Weitzman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and Shirley Taylor—when the manager of a Child's restaurant asked suspiciously if Charlotte were a Negro and on learning that she was, refused to seat them. This was only a few weeks after the restaurant chain told the Pittsburgh *Courier* it did not discriminate. At a nearby table were other delegates, including Mollie Lieber, just returned from the Soviet Union after going as a delegate to the World Youth Congress in London. They protested and walked out with the rejected trio.

When CIO Counsel Lee Pressman, presiding over the final session of the conference before the day set aside for visits to Congressmen and government officials, introduced Senator Pepper, the applause was prolonged. Pepper spoke extemporaneously, and his speech ranged from eloquence to hilarious satire. He mocked Winston Churchill. He proceeded with a devastating indictment of some people on the American general staff who, if reports can be relied upon, think there should be a war and that it should be directed against Russia. He spoke of British tories who would like to have a war if we would fight it—the same tories who built up Hitler and even during the war maneuvered to fight it in the way which would hurt Russia most. He also pointed to the deluge of attacks on Russia and their organized character, culminating in Churchill's Fulton speech.

Then with deadpan face, mingling Churchill's British accent with his Southern one, Senator Pepper gave his version of what Churchill would have said had he lived in the days of feudalism and in America at the time of the war between the states. Could there be any days which produced women so fair and a manor-house so magnificent, and serfs so loyal to their master, as in the days of chivalry? he asked with all the Churchillian resonance. Would his opponents disorder a whole social structure? If so, they had not sat beneath the magnolias at the fall of eventide. Surely they had not heard those loyal retainers strumming their violins as dusk fell, they had not been present at the fireside to see them receive spiritual benedictions from their masters.

Men in high places are rattling sabers, said Senator Pepper. They may not want war, but they want the fruit of war, and now they want the UN to be the guarantor of the status quo. "Many have not learned that the old order has ended and there is a new distribution of power," he said. "The burning question is where do we stand? Are we the leaders of the new or the defenders of the old? Or are we becoming the newest and most dangerous imperialist power?" While leading the UN, we are acting unilaterally, he said, in regard to bases in the whole Western Hemisphere and almost the whole Pacific area; and he asked whether Britain and Russia ever had recognized "our exclusive right to become the exclusive arbiter of the lives and fate of the Chinese people?"

He called for a course of action which would restore the confidence Russia had in FDR's America; he inveighed against the false facades of those who get behind the little nations to use them for imperialist purposes and war. "It is," he said, "like those in Congress who defeated the sixty-five-cent minimum behind the facade of the small farmer"; it is like those who "use the screen of state's rights to defeat legislation to end the nefarious structure of the poll tax, or to defeat a health bill, or a maternal and child care bill."

Rep. DeLacy and J. Raymond Walsh, research director of the CIO, both bared the economic base of empire and colonialism. Fully half the human race is so submerged in poverty that it is constantly flirting with premature death by malnutrition, Walsh remarked. He pointed out how in India, even during the war, production actually declined, so great was the fear and anxiety of the British that India would develop a free industrial economy. Britain's worry over America's tremendous might has, he said, made the "labor government almost out-Churchill Churchill" in the Far East. Only the Soviet Union is immune from this bitter rivalry, because it does not have our internal economic dilemma, our need for finding outlets for production and because the "Soviet Union is interested in raising the standard of life everywhere, no matter who advances it."

Many people in this country, declared Rep. DeLacy, do not know there is any such thing as American imperialism. Our imperialists, he said, want to get into those hitherto British-controlled markets to get rid of their "surplus goods." "Foreign policy begins at

Slumber Song in an Old Manner

(TO BE SUNG BY A STATESMAN, VERY SOFTLY)

"No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it are at present largely in American hands."—Winston Churchill at Fulton, speaking of the atom bomb.

Slumber in Soerabaja
and in New Delhi sleep.
O never grieve in Tel Aviv,
in Athens never weep

or cry, 'Your drug is stronger
than it is well to take:
our brothers sleep, how deep, how deep,
our sisters do not wake.

Too quietly our mothers
repose their hands and heads.
Our fathers lie too silently
in dark hard beds.'

This is your drowsy comfort,
this is your sleeping song:
'Be blind, be blind, for they are kind
who make the mixture strong.

They soothed you with the saber,
with bullets gave you ease:
'Be blind, be blind, for they are kind
with a stronger drug than these.'

J. W. CARROLL.

★ ★ ★

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FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
January 30, 1882—April 12, 1945

"War is a danger which can be avoided only if that unity of the Big Three molded by Franklin D. Roosevelt is not lost." Sen. Claude H. Pepper at the Win-the-Peace Conference.

home," he insisted. "You can't be anti-Negro at home and for the liberation of colonial peoples abroad; you can't be for the anti-labor Case bill and also for the people struggling for elbow room all over the world; or against OPA and at the same time for rising living standards for the Chinese."

THE conference passed a series of resolutions on foreign policy, and an omnibus resolution on domestic issues. This resolution supported full employment, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell national health bill, passage of a sixty-five-cent minimum wage law, extension of OPA through June, 1947, with increased appropriations, the Wyatt Emergency Housing program and the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, elimination of the poll tax, and federal aid to education. Under this resolution the conference pledged itself to campaign energetically against Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism, and for a permanent FEPC, for equality for all Americans, for the federal anti-lynching bill, removal of racial and religious restrictions in housing, for suffrage for the District of Columbia and a federal bill to eliminate Jim Crow practices in the capital.

The resolution also declared the conference's support of the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee in their refusal to open their books to the House Un-American Committee, "since disclosure would endanger the lives of thousands of brave fighters for Republican Spain." It urged the House of Representatives not to support the indictment proposal and urges all representative organizations to take immediate and forceful action to defend the JAFRC.

Highlights of other major resolutions on foreign policy were:

1. That our government actively support Poland when its delegate brings the matter of Franco Spain before the Security Council; that it break commercial and diplomatic relations; that the United Nations blockade the Franco regime and that the Republican Government in Exile be recognized.

2. Condemnation of the appointment of Herbert Hoover as world food adviser.

3. That the conference call upon the US delegation to the Security Council to demand removal of all interventionary forces—British, Dutch and Japanese—and bring about recognition of the Indonesian Republic.

4. That our government be called upon to exert strong pressure on Britain through the UN to grant complete independence to India, withdraw troops and join with other governments in accepting responsibility for the lives of millions of Indians threatened with famine.

5. A call for immediate withdrawal from China of all foreign troops and military equipment; and cooperation of the Big Three in giving all needed assistance to the Chinese people in economic reconstruction and for the democratization of China.

6. That MacArthur's one-man rule of Japan be abandoned. That scheduled elections be postponed. That the Emperor be tried as a war criminal and the Allied Control Commission destroy the war potential of Japan.

7. That the State Department avoid acts of pressure and provocation endangering American-Soviet friendship and directly repudiate the proposed Anglo-American "fraternal union"; that the State Department facilitate the immediate grant of a maximum loan to the Soviet Union by the Export-Import Bank, and encourage granting additional loans from public or private funds on reasonable terms.

8. That the US take the initiative in placing the problem of Greece before the Security Council on the grounds that the presence of British troops constitutes a threat to world peace; that it propose the invalidation of the results of the recent false elections; that a representative government including members of the EAM and the Resistance movement be formed. It urged amnesty for all political prisoners and the purge of quislings.

9. That the armed Polish fascist troops be withdrawn from Italy at once; that Italy be admitted to the United Nations and a peace treaty concluded.

10. That the Potsdam agreement to destroy Germany's economic war potential be uncompromisingly applied. Urged also was the maximum utilization of all anti-fascist forces in Germany and the acknowledgement in practice that the German working class must be the base of a democratic Germany. An end was demanded to the US government's efforts to prevent establishment of unity among all German anti-fascist and democratic political parties.

This article was written before the conference adjourned. In subsequent issues we will discuss more fully the organizational and programmatic structure of this new movement.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

CURRENT THEATER

THE "he" of *He Who Gets Slapped*, the Andreyev play currently offered by the Theater Guild, is a mystifying savant who has been robbed by his disciple of both his ideas and his wife. He disappears from his former circle, where it is supposed that he has committed suicide. But he assumes a new existence in which he acts a part which is for him symbolic of his fated role in life—the clown who gets slapped. Thereby he wins an enormous public, serving their need for a scapegoat.

At first appearance this is the major theme of the play. Andreyev himself, ill digesting the symbolist ideas imported by the Russian decadents from France, seems to have so intended it. But, as the play develops, this theme shrinks in dramatic as well as ideational content. It ends up as a deforming excrescence upon another stronger and typically Russian theme, in which Andreyev is obviously more at home.

As Andreyev handles it, it is a minor version of the major theme that goodness, wisdom and strength abide in the simple-hearted. This concept is not limited to literature. It powerfully influenced Russian social thinking, helping to misguide, as much as to inspire, political action. It sent a generation of the Russian intelligentsia "to the people," that is, to the peasants, in the expectation of building a new Russia upon a peasant base.

In Russian literature the theme appears over and over again. It is the conclusion of Tolstoy's thinking, reached after being projected in many of his characters. It appears, in characteristically pathological forms, in Dostoyevsky's gallery of characters—Prince Mishkin of *The Idiot* and Alyosha of the *Brothers Karamazov* come to mind. It appears in Gorky too, in those simple, wise old men who have learned the value of goodness by experiencing evil and who unobtrusively redirect the lives of others by persuading them to acts of kindness. It appears, negatively, in a satire like Goncharov's *Oblomov*, which indicts that obverse of Russian simplicity which appears as senseless passivity. And in Gogol it took a morbid, Catholic form in which "simple religious goodness" became the adversary of joy and freedom, and condemned literature as a "vanity," thereby causing Gogol to destroy not only the second part of *Dead Souls*, but himself.

In *He Who Gets Slapped*, the theme is embodied in the character of a simple and uneducated girl, the circus rider Consuelo. The drama is pivoted on the power of her simple goodness. Immediately after her appearance "he" loses significance even as a symbolic sufferer. He gets increasingly in the way and is responsible for the play's clumsiest action and its worst nonsense.

Through the attraction, principally, of her natural goodness, (she is, of course, very pretty too, but so, also, are most of the other circus girls), Consuelo effortlessly wins everybody's love. In a subplot in which she figures as the uncomprehending rival of the statuesque and beautiful Zinaida, the lion tamer, she not only wins the man, but even the forgiveness and love of the thwarted woman. Zinaida stands as the strong-minded woman who compels the love of others, who even coerces her lions to love her. But against the submissive simplicity of Consuelo her fierce will loses its power. So effective is Consuelo's simple goodness that it reduces to reverent—and marital—love a titled libertine for whom women, up to then, had been merely more or less expensive articles of consumption. It even has the power to lift the slapped clown from his masochism to a vision of almost normal happiness.

Compared to the greater embodiments elsewhere in Russian literature of this respect for human goodness, Consuelo is thin and dim. Yet, together with some deft dialogue for minor characters, this is all that gives dignity to the play. For the pretentious nonsense Andreyev wrote into the title role becomes more insufferable with time. Even at its original production, when such vaporous symbolism was modish, discriminating critics strained at it. Today it is as grotesque as the hipless dress that was another fashion of the period.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

HARRY GRANICK'S *Reveille Is Always*, which was performed three times at the Theresa L. Kaufmann Auditorium, is added proof that the cultural left wing must redirect itself on the road to independent action. It is heart-breaking and criminal to see this type of sincere, progressive play die quietly in an obscure theater while a drama-hungry city crowds the lobbies of such corpses as *Antigone* and *He Who Gets Slapped*.

The story is that of a returned soldier who believes that he has earned the right to loaf and invite his soul. The Nazis are licked, the dirty work is over, and he intends to shut eyes and ears to all the fascist sounds and sights about him. Even when the face of the enemy shows itself in his own neighborhood, threatening the girl who loves him and the very things for which he fought, he remains blind and mute. But he is not allowed his retreat. The counter-offensive of reaction penetrates the very doors of his hideaway and the defenses of his rationalization. True, he has seen enough death, suffering and fatigue—but he cannot wave away the fact that the fight is not over; that no man can avoid the shame of giving up the struggle. His fundamental self, temporarily blacked out by his desire for an obliteration of his recent past, recalls him to his post.

The audience liked this play. It was exciting, tense, honest; the author dealt with a problem that had immediate as well as permanent interest for everyone not "above" today's battles. Only occasionally a cliche, an empty speech or a too pat situation slackened the tension of mounting climax. And certain of the minor characters were too turned out by stencil.

But what lapses there were could easily have been detected and remedied if a group of progressive actors, directors and playwrights worked together on such a play in their own theater; if there were even a crumb of hope that the play would survive after a few showings. It must have been maddening to performers like Peggy Cartwright, Beatrice Wade, Ralph W. Edington and William Jackel, all gifted actors, to realize that they were rehearsing a work which was doomed in advance through no fault of the company that produced it. Even the child actress,

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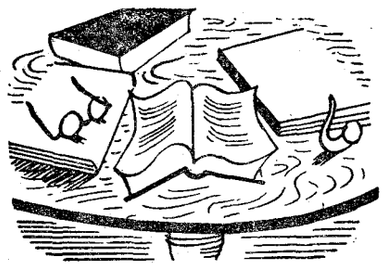

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Margot Baker, didn't get what she deserved—an opportunity to learn her trade by practicing it with some assurance that the play would last. The fine, imaginative sets by D. Philips Spencer were also doomed to discard.

In the meantime I hope that Stage For Action can find a place for Granick's play in its plans. This is a big city and a wide country and there are enough audiences eager for more than the usual Broadway product which adheres to nothing but the purity of the box office. The commercial theater is asleep, after a brief period of war awakening. For its own good—and ours—it should be reminded that Reveille Is Always.

T. C. Foxx.

HIGHLIGHT of an otherwise routine variety benefit was the premiere performance by Stage for Action of Arnold Perl's short play on Negro discrimination, *Dream Job*. Originally intended as a radio script for a US Army program, it was banned for obvious reasons.

Adapted to the requirements of mobile theater which Stage for Action has developed to a high level, *Dream Job* tells the story of Ted, a young Negro soldier returned from the war after receiving the Bronze Star Medal for heroism.

Coming home with Sam, a white buddy, Ted is confronted with the same race prejudice he risked his life to destroy. First it is the bartender in a bar who breaks the glass from which Ted drinks. Then the job he was expecting as a mechanic is denied him because of his color. Disillusioned, he becomes bitter and sees the problem as black against white. But his sister fights against this incorrect analysis. She reminds him of Sam and tries to convince Ted that the majority of whites are like him. Ted visits Sam and through his efforts secures a job in the same factory.

Arnold Perl is a facile and skillful writer and his characters live although he lacks the time to develop them. However, despite his positive approach to the question, which stresses the importance of seeing the problem as one which must be faced and solved by Negro and white together, his ending is a little too pat. In terms of action, the need to fight against discrimination is not emphasized; it is limited to a final speech by Sam. The play ends happily for Ted, but what about the thousands who have no Sam to get them a job?

Staged by Peter Frye, the mobile technique was handicapped by the large Carnegie Hall stage. The acting, particularly the leads played by Gordon Heath and Lloyd Gough, was excellent and lifted the play to its occasional heights. Among the fine supporting cast were Jane White, Lou Polan, Louis Gilbert and Ken Renard. Musical background, setting the mood, was provided by Brownie McGhee and Charles Polacheck.

GILBERT LAWRENCE.

"The Airborne"

LISTENING to Marc Blitzstein's *The Airborne* was a most exciting experience for those who heard it last week at the City Music Center. Audience reaction was spontaneous and enthusiastic to a degree seldom accorded a new work.

Blitzstein himself has given us a clue to this feeling when he said that "serious work (in music) and popular work have finally found a healthy meeting ground." A fusion of the popular with the serious in music is just what many composers have been striving for, particularly since the advent of radio though without the striking success of *The Airborne*. Witness the numerous instances of the incorporation of folk material in orchestral music both here and in the Soviet Union.

Blitzstein in *The Airborne* has taken a less obvious way, a way that holds great possibilities for the future, but which is fraught with dangers in the hands of a composer of less stylistic sensitivity. Abjuring folk material, he has written in a way that at times reflects the current popular taste without, however, hitting rock bottom. He has found a common denominator between the "highbrow" and "lowbrow" (about as elusive as the philosopher's stone) and with unerring good taste has avoided any impression of incongruity.

The text, being an organic whole, has supplied the continuity not always obvious in the music. It is the product of an enlightened political thinker, endowed with an unusual musical talent and possessed of a boundless faith and an intense purposiveness in communicating his message, not to the select few but to the multitude.

Written in a style easily understood by the average GI Joe, even descending to the lowly pun, *The Airborne* deals with a subject most "in the air" today, and does it in a series of dramatic episodes in the history of flying. Composed in a diatonic idiom, with ample use of dissonance when needed, the

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music is happy in invention, never trite nor derivative, and brilliantly scored.

The voice writing is effective, although here I should like to register a protest at a certain sin in prosody to which I still have to be reconciled in listening to contemporary music. I refer to the undue stress of length given to unimportant words or syllables, which serves no melodic or rhythmic purpose, but merely distorts. It ain't natural!

To discourse on the various episodes that could be highlighted is beyond the scope of this review. For this the reader is referred to the numerous radio broadcasts which it is to be hoped the work will be accorded.

WALLINGFORD RIEGGER.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

TALK ABOUT RUSSIA WITH MASHA SCOTT, *by Pearl S. Buck. John Day. $1.75.*

IN THE midst of her conversations with Masha Scott, Miss Buck pauses to remark: "I had looked through a window into Russia. It was only one window, but what I saw was clear and true." It would be hard to describe more accurately the unique contribution of this excellent little book.

Aware that the Soviet Union is a mighty force in world affairs, Miss Buck wanted to visualize Soviet life in concrete human terms. She chose to see the socialist reconstruction of a great nation through the eyes of an actual participant.

Masha was four years old when the revolution came to her little peasant village. When she left the Soviet Union war had not yet come to her country. Scrupulously omitting what she did not herself experience, Masha tells what happened to the life about her during those two history-packed decades.

Masha's story is as exciting as it is colorful. In simple, vivid descriptions, she makes us see the pre-revolutionary life of ignorance, disease and backbreaking toil in her native village. Her parents, especially her father, Ivan Kalinovich, might have stepped out of one of Gorky's novels. These are real people, weighted down by centuries-old poverty and exploitation, burdened by feudal prejudices. And just because they were human beings and not the lifeless puppets of lifeless history books, things did not go altogether smoothly when the revolution came. Besides the resistance of kulaks and other counter-revolutionists, it was necessary to overcome old habits of thought, old techniques, ancient, ingrained folkways.

Eventually, however, the new triumphed over the old. Modern education, modern medicine, the vast achievements of collective farming, created a new environment and new human beings—slowly and unevenly, to be sure—but irresistibly. "In the old days they had suffered over every little single strip of land, and between the strips were those banks of grass. But now as far as their eyes could see was waving wheat and all around the village it looked like a nobleman's land and the people were proud of this." And from this transformation grew the inevitable loyalty to the new socialist order which mendacious "journalism" cannot slander out of existence. "Father liked the Soviet government. He saw that it was the people's government and served the people." And again: "Mother took the October Revolution as the liberation of

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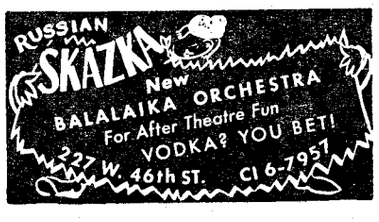

the people and particularly of her. She grew so proud!"

This brief resume cannot convey the richness of Masha's narrative. One must read the book and live with Masha through her education in Moscow, and her work in Magnitogorsk, where a great city bloomed on the windy steppe. Reading it, one vividly understands the confidence and security of Masha's outlook, the comradeship implicit in the frequent use of *we*, "the quiet pride," in Miss Buck's own words, "with which Masha states the fact, 'I am Collective.'"

Miss Buck deserves credit for not slanting Masha's presentation to conform with her own bourgeois-liberal political views. Some of her questions to Masha seem pedantic, and her conclusion that British imperialism and American capitalism must provide the peoples with "something better than communism, something swifter, a quicker benefit . . . a wiser means," strikes us as naive. Miss Buck states on the first page of her book: "I have never been interested in politics, because I do not consider politics basic." Yet politics is the subject of her book, and she could have learned more from it.

Wisely, Miss Buck has let Masha tell her own story. It is a story that deserves wide circulation to counteract the poisonous distortions currently aimed against our Soviet ally.

EPHIM G. FOGEL.

Who Is America?

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA COUNTRY, *by Carey McWilliams. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $3.75.*

FOR five years now, I have been reading—and occasionally reviewing—a series of books published by Duell, Sloan & Pearce, edited by Erskine Caldwell, and written by some of the most indigenous Americans I have had the pleasure of knowing. The books, which are called *American Folkways*, have at one and the same time all the faults and all the good flavor of an intensely local product; in addition to that, they present the soundest recapitulation of our history in human terms that I know of. Whereas the formalized and usually malicious history of our textbooks represents events either in terms of created political heroes or in terms of a rigid and manipulated economic determinism, such as the Beards practice, these books turn to the people and search in their marvelous ferment for causes, reasons, directions, struggle and moods.

In other series, *The Rivers of Amer-*

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ica, for example, some such method was aimed at, but the *Rivers* series fell short because its very concept was unsound; there is nothing homogeneous in a river valley, which may be a hundred or a thousand miles in length, which may include one or five economies, one or five peoples or nations or climates. Here, however, regional areas were chosen—American islands demarcated by either a common geographical unity, a common economy or a common cultural or racial heritage. In some cases this failed, and the authors, after considerable sewing, emerged with patchwork quilts; but in the main it has been successful, as for example with Meridel Le Sueur's book, reviewed here recently, and now with Carey McWilliams' fine and rewarding study of Southern California.

Mr. McWilliams brings to his work two necessary requirements for a project of this kind: a knowledge of and a sympathy for the country and people whereof he writes. He not only knows California, but he loves it; and obviously he is writing about Southern California because he wants to write about it, not because someone has asked him to. He has a sure hand, a keen eye, and a pleasant and engaging way of putting down words—and he brings to it both a social and anthropological approach. The result is a well-balanced, richly-colored picture of what he calls "*an island on the land.*" He may be pardoned for loving too well; when he boasts, he does not boast with the vulgar and destructive dollar-sense of a Rotarian. He has a dream for a land which . . . "deserves something better, in the way of inhabitants, than the swamis, the realtors, the motion picture tycoons, the fakirs, the fat widows, the nondescript clerks, the bewildered ex-farmers, the corrupt pension-plan schemers, the tight-fisted 'empire builders,' and all the other curious migratory creatures who have flocked here from the far corners of the earth. For this strip of coast, this tiny region, seems to be looking westward across the Pacific, waiting for the future that one can somehow sense and feel and see. Here America will build its great city of the Pacific. . . ."

He writes of the people, the old Spaniards, the Indians, the Mexicans, the Chinese and Japanese with warm understanding. Like Adamic, he knows what a treasure-chest the cultures of our peoples present; and he is filled with indignation against the steam-roller, assembly-line process that seeks to make of all our people a series of car-card posters, as much alike as peas in a pod.

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There is no trace here of the East 50's literature approach which Steinbeck brings to the people of Southern California; McWilliams is not a tourist slumming—he is an intensely interested and integrated participant in a very important part of American life.

One point comes clearest for me through McWilliams' book—the treasure of art and culture we have lost by slamming our nation into a heedless, pseudo Anglo-Saxon mould. While on one hand we still grind our minorities through a mill, telling them to come out alike or not at all, on the other we create a fake past in cheap movie spectacles and in best-selling trash. Speaking of the *Old Spanish Fiesta*, supported by the ample wealth of Southern California, the same people who reject a low-cost housing project for Mexicans, McWilliams says:

"However, there is really nothing inconsistent about this attitude, for it merely reflects the manner in which the sacred aspects of the romantic past have been completely divorced from their secular connotations. The residents of Santa Barbara firmly believe, of course, that the Spanish past is dead, extinct, vanished. In their thinking, the Mexicans living in Santa Barbara have no connection with this past. . . . The restored Mission is a much better, a less embarrassing symbol of the past than the Mexican field worker or the ragamuffic *pachucos* of Los Angeles."

Again, McWilliams is not afraid to admit that a worker had something to do with America's past as well as with the shaping of the present. He presents all classes of the population in the shape of a whole picture, violating the formal tradition of our history-writers, who not only expunge the struggle of the workers in a class sense, but remove the whole of the working class from the pages of history.

If the book has a real drawback, it is its price, $3.75—too high, I think, for something that should be read by many people.

HOWARD FAST.

Testing Schoolbooks

FIELD WORK IN COLLEGE EDUCATION, *by Helen Merrell Lynd. Columbia University Press. $2.75.*

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HOWARD FAST
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ARNAUD D'USSEAU
Co-Author of "Deep Are the Roots"
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A part of this concern is demonstrated in the debates and discussions now current as to the relative advantages, particularly in higher education, of teaching life or letters, of stressing individual development or social responsibility. But, as Mrs. Lynd makes clear, precisely in this duality lies the impotence of much of modern so-called education. Divorcing theory from practice makes each a corpse, and attempting to develop a social human being independent and ignorant of society is unreal and farcical. Recognizing, more or less clearly, these facts, several schools, such as the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, North Carolina, and the Colleges of Keuka, Antioch, Hunter and Barnard have turned, recently, to the inclusion of field work—organized working and studying in the community—as a complement of more conventional "book-learning."

The book under review is a detailed study of such a program as conducted during the past five years in Sarah Lawrence College. No one reading this report can doubt the superiority of this method over the usual lecture-classroom procedure.

Implicit in this method, and necessary to it, as the author clearly states, is courage as concerns social issues on the part of administrators and teachers. "Controversial issues belong in the classroom," and a meaningful attack upon them requires that the students go out and test their text by the realities of the struggles, organizations, and aims of the living people around them.

In reading of the reactions of the students, young ladies from well-to-do families, to studying and visiting the homes of workers, this reviewer is moved to suggest that schools serving less wealthy individuals—especially those conducted by labor unions—might find it rewarding to organize occasional field trips to the Morgans, Du Ponts and Fords. There are many scientific studies and surveys of the opinions, clothes, food, and homes (down to the number of windows) of the masses, but similar searching inquiries concerning the rich are very rare. Or are the private lives of the five percent sacrosanct?

HERBERT APTHEKER.

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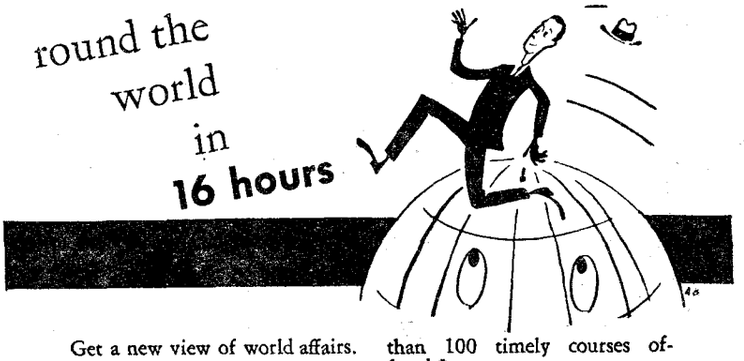

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